

SOCIAL STRATEGIES IN EUROPEAN NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING

Development and Regeneration Processes within Neighborhoods,
or what urban planners do to make you happy

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ABSTRACT

This work dwells on social tendencies and aims of neighborhood development planning, mainly focusing on processes of regeneration in European territory. The work is conceptualized to stay on the neighborhood level and local scale, but as influence of these actions is further going and touches upon broader coherence, the regional and national level are also matter of subject.

The aim is to dwell on the social attributes included in planning processes, specifically in practices of neighborhood development, concerning mainly the change, which occurs or is activated in neighborhoods in urban settlements. It attempts to illustrate how the way we live in urban settlements is reflected in urban processes and planning, and vice versa.

It focuses on processes of urban regeneration, mainly on non-physical intervention activities in the planning methods. It considers participatory planning, citizens' involvement and activism as way to enhancement of social interactions, networking, and cohesion, and so forming an affluent neighborhood.

The neighborhood regeneration is often practiced in prosperous and economically growing cities, where the housing market is rather tight. Therefore the study marginally bears upon the topic of housing. On the other hand, housing has its share of significance in how we perceive our surroundings, our neighborhoods and it is a crucial part of development programs and policies.

Key words: neighborhood development, neighborhood change, social aims, community, participatory planning

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Introduction

Our common vision is to live in urban neighborhoods, where people can experience healthy lifestyle and vital community life. We seek conditions that encourage us and offer good jobs and housing, where we can feel safe, along with safety ensured for children and elderly. Where education is not a privilege but right, and where children, youth and adults can develop fully regardless their background. Yet, such conditions are not as common and automatic, as we would wish for. In order to achieve good quality of urban public and private realms it is necessary to foster social cohesion within communities and awareness of citizens' rights and also problems.

The surrounding we live in is essential for human developing and perception of well-being. Neighborhood perception is defined also through our home environment, which closely relates to way we dwell, our housing conditions. Housing portrays the basic human needs, primarily providing us a shelter to protect us from the physical point of view. Other than that, it is also what protects us from the outer world, giving us haven, resources and background. This is what enables us to shape our habits, our culture, the living environment, and thus our evolvement. Housing goes hand in hand with our physical, as well as mental health. Many aspects of housing issues articulate with sustainability concerns. Those principles attempt to design socially, environmentally and economically vital conditions of housing (in this case), forming communities, where social realization is feasible.

Through neighborhood perception we identify ourselves with our surroundings. That is why the matter of participation in the processes occurring in our surroundings is very vital for the way we feel about it. Consequently the way we envision our neighborhood is determined, and the feeling of belonging can be reached. The involvement and sharing of experiences is closely associated with the sense of belonging. Community involvement and participation come here into fundamental and necessary consideration. Having common goals, not individual, has other additional benefits. Firstly, they are easier to achieve, secondly they are in favor of satisfaction of citizens.

The citizen empowerment and participatory planning has emerged in 1960's. These ideas were popularized and spread by influential social activists and journalists as Paul Barker (1969) and Jane Jacobs (1963). These tendencies were mostly flourishing from 1960's to 1980's, but in the last decades the role of social attributes in planning has generated a great deal of importance and interest. Social sciences involved in the designing

processes bring on to capture the psychology - how people perceive the space around them and interact with other people, the history - how the physical form of a place evolved, and the anthropology and sociology - to create places that meet the needs of different social groups.

What is it that defines our wellbeing? Besides of many elements, it is mostly our financial situation and our social values and structures. The quality of urban living is jeopardized by the impact of globalization and major role of economy on urban system. The cities are in urgent need to get release from dominance of business and economy - which plays their share of importance; furthermore an ethical approach with attention to individuals needs to be elemental again. Human scale has been forgotten in the process of building of bigger and larger spaces. This is creating a significant difference between something very big, thus impersonal, and something smaller, thus intimate. Our sensory development is closely tight to landscape. That is why it is vital to redefine balance between city and nature, where the environment is of primary care, and allows to citizens a life of shared experience.

Aim and researched questions

Aim of the study

Neighborhood provides an appropriate scale for studying the social relations among residents.

The aim of the study is to analyze the neighborhood development, targeting social needs and relations - the evolvement and tendencies in neighborhood planning, to understand how and why the social aspects became important principles for sustainability and urban resilience for planning on neighborhood scale.

A closer outlook on regeneration is developed in the study; it portrays what are the fundamental principles to successfully apply regeneration processes to existing original structures at neighborhood level. In the process of regeneration the role of participation is attentively analyzed.

Questions

In order to understand the mechanisms and role of neighborhood the following questions are a subject matter of the study.

Firstly, the study attempts to justify ***how neighborhood regeneration works on social level***. The case studies seek to reveal *what are the possible outcomes of neighborhood regeneration when implementing non-physical, non-building interference but, social appliances (interaction, participation, integration, etc.)*.

Secondly, the focus is set on the community and participation matters. Here the sought questions are: ***What is the role of citizen in community development?*** More precisely: *What are the measures and factors for strengthening the community life?*

Lastly the relation between these two is questioned: ***How Does Citizens' participation act as an intervener in neighborhood regeneration?***

Methodology

Many concerns in this topic are subject to broad and perplexed debates, that is why the scale of this work remains open and extensive. The point of view in this work is considered from urban planning perspective, but the theme is interlaid with other disciplines, justified when necessary.

The work begins with contextual international study, which identifies basic schemes and practices of neighborhood planning. It is concentrated on both academic and practical exploration of factors impinging on neighborhood movement, as well as searching for reasons and consequent implementations processes for neighborhood improvement. Furthermore it attempts to recognize potential positive results and outcomes. The used method is systematic generation of data collection using both deductive and inductive thinking, with goal to formulate hypothesis based on comparison of conceptualized data. By use of empirical research, it retrospectively formulates these hypotheses to fit the data.

The researched topics are illustrated on case studies. The case studies are reviewed as textual analysis. The case studies comprise concept of regeneration and participation in planning methods. They have been chosen to demonstrate for what reasons and when these methods are being implemented, and what are their possible advantages and disadvantages, and further challenges. Partially they react to the questions to be answered in the work. The case studies examine the space considering the following measures: scale, objective task and instruments, themes and challenges, and lastly concrete issues of a given neighborhood.

The focal case study in Berlin uses quantitative and qualitative methods to observe in depth the targeted public space.

The final step of the work summarizes the conclusions and deductions resulting from the analysis and study.

The conclusion is put in relation with the researched theories, documents, strategies and articles studied throughout the work. It seeks to answer the focal questions (mentioned in the aim and questions section) of the work.

Reading guide

The reading guide introduces briefly each chapter, to inform on the content in summary.

Chapter 1: Defining neighborhood development

Chapter 1 is a theoretical framework to present the bearing theme of the work, neighborhood and its development. It opens up the topic of neighborhood regeneration and consequently describes decisive arguments for urban regeneration.

Chapter 2: Social attributes of neighborhood perception

Chapter 2 focuses on social enhancement of neighborhood, involving particularly issues in neighborhood affecting non-physical components of urban life.

Chapter 3: Neighborhood change and housing context

Urban change, whether controlled or not, is another determinant within neighborhood processes. This chapter conceptualizes theories and historical definitions and interpretations of urban change. At the same time it embodies attention to housing, as housing conditions define perception of neighborhood significantly.

Chapter 4: Urban changes in neighborhood reflected in social changes

Chapter 4 describes societal issues. It attempts to explore the correlation between urban and societal changes. It looks upon movement of every-day life from urban responsiveness.

Chapter 5: Case Studies

Three selected case studies are area-based intervention, with different kind of support background, in three different countries in Europe with diverse political and policy context. In all the case studies I focus on the social interactions, and intervention concerning citizen's societal role, demands, and commitment.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The discussion chapter proposes challenges and concerns for urban planning to consider when evolving the regeneration in neighborhoods. In addition the challenges of citizens' participation are discussed. This chapter opens up subjects of criticism and a bit of controversy in these matters.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Chapter 7 firstly summarizes the whole work and its individual proceedings. More importantly it seeks to answer the questions of the work.

1. DEFINING NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT

Neighborhood planning and its development is a decisive section for transformation towards community resilience. But it can also be disruptive in a way, first spatially- by geographical limitation, secondly socially- by giving priority to local interests over broader concerns and urban complexity. That is why it is crucial to follow specific proceeding of neighborhood scale planning, in order to ensure beneficial outcome for city as a whole. To achieve this conformity one can establish those four components, based on academic and professional literature on planning community development. Firstly embrace social innovation, integrate community development practices with theory, cease borders of neighborhoods and lastly, envision ecological democracy. At the same time it is important to integrate and unify scales from neighborhood to the city scales, to region scales and concur domains of the state and civil society, hence, value participatory democracy incorporating urban ecology.

Social innovation

Social innovation is an old approach of practices, but a new label for a significant notion in neighborhood development. The concept of social innovation can be perceived in two ways. Firstly, as a correlation between tangible bottom-up activities, where inhabitants are themselves the initiators to impose the change and transformations in governance. Secondly, to offer a judgment, that would be useful for ideology or critique, so it can participate actively in political debate and social science contribution.

Moulaert et al. (2010), in his work, dwells on how to understand the social innovation and its dynamics in neighborhoods. He suggests a framework of prerequisites and conditions for neighborhood-scale initiatives, on the city scale and beyond it. It includes following objectives; to satisfy human needs, which are not fulfilled by markets and state; to provide rights for enhancement of human capabilities and which are empowering people to social processes; and to alternate social relations and structures in a way that leads to more inclusive governance. Many case studies illustrate that social innovation can be vital in neighborhoods, as it is usually enacted in civil society organizations, acting out not only within local area, but as well considering broader urban context, and thus bridging it with political realm.

There is another thought that socially innovative organizations contribute through neighborhood-based planning to livable and resilient cities. It happens often that state institutions want to lower citizen's expectations, on the other side, civil-society oriented organizations want to raise the level and motivate people to expect more and better, from their collective city-building. Thus planning aims to educate people, impose them to explore and know their possibilities, for a positive change at

local level. When people are aware of their influence and feel empowered, comprehend that they are in charge of making a difference, it is more likely that they would participate actively in collective response for a social change, by that they contribute to resilience and liveability of their city.

The global viewpoint is a reminder that local initiative holds local community and culture interest as predominant or exclusive forces to determine development; this hinders the trans-local policies, processes, and relationships that are crucial for livable and resilient cities (Moulaert et al., 2010, Rohe, 2009).

The practical tasks of community –neighborhood development

The practical part of community development can be described as thoughtful design, continually evolving, acting creatively on collective engagement within neighborhood. The design shall engage social learning and create knowledge. These ideas come from literature on participatory and collaborative planning, education and social sciences and community development.

Ledwith (2011) describes the necessity of synthesis of theory and practice, action and reflection, doing and thinking, which signifies the collective undertaking of bringing sense to one's own action with transformative purposes. Through practical approach people win critical awareness of their conditions and can work collectively toward social justice, liberation and empowerment.

Paul Piccone (1976) states, that creative activity, which modifies the past in order to model the political instruments of the present, will bring qualitatively different future. Innes and Booher (2010) suggest that effective collaboration is dependable on practice. The practical experience is deeply formed and interwoven with theories and reflection.

Margaret Ledwith (2011) describes community development practices as a contested space between bottom-up and top-down approaches, when the state and civil society continually negotiate the ways of cooperation and are challenging one another. Principally the practical operation of community development aims to act collectively for social change on principles of social justice and sustainability, critical analysis of competencies, and participatory democracy (Springett and Ledwith, 2010, Ledwith, 2011).

The processes of neighborhood development planning must have strong base of community development in order to be transformative in their capacity. Considering at the same time individual development of inhabitants as well as physical transformations. For community development to be carried out in effective, sustainable and transformative way, the local government processes must be

collaborative and participatory in order to build capacity of neighborhood improvement over a period of time. Principles of self-organization, self-help, and participation help to guide neighborhood towards flexibility and lead to continuance of dialog, reconsideration of priorities, to exploring alternatives and thus accomplish an effective action.

Neighborhoods without borders

An area of a neighborhood is typically defined by an urban district and its boundaries, usually built or by natural element as parks, rivers, railroads or steep slopes et cetera. Habitually these limits are allotted with a certain public build out as roads, streets or highways. The logic behind that is not exactly efficiency or convenience, but it has long been assumed that obvious neighborhood lines and edges are in a favor of legibility of a neighborhood and provide easily recognizable and distinct character (Lynch, 1981, Banerjee and Baer, 1984, Perry, 2007).

Albeit many authors agree with this distinction, that neighborhoods shall be clearly detached by physical confines, Jayne Engle and Nik Luka (2015) argue that not merely the range of activities, businesses, housing or community services should be encompassed within a neighborhood, but the public space of commercial and arterial streets is often remote to the outer margins.

Neighborhoods designated as nested or overlapping prevent the space in between those limitations to become zones of spatial and social discordance. They emphasize the quality of local neighborhoods and safety of residents, integration of biodiversity and nature into dense urban environments. Researchers are debating if these spaces shall be considered as an individual category with its own separate functions. Van Nus (1979) describes the reasoning of the efficient city, with separated zones of activities, divided by high-capacity roadways.

Opposite argumentation is, that those in between zones should be interpreted as parts of neighborhoods, allowing stakeholders to use the power of governing these spaces, and thus make them understand how they are integral in neighborhood development. A city which is characterized by people-centered urban design, liveability and resilience can't be greater, than sum of its parts. The holistic view of a city as frame of overlapping tissues is crucial. These parts should consist of range of street types and uses.

Good planning of neighborhoods shall strengthen and enrich their public realm. These spaces can get a better attention and collective action, as one need to remember that the most considerable part of public space are streets. They can be a source for all different kinds of functions, as spaces for cycling and walking, biomass spots or vegetation, biodiversity corridors and spaces of urban

agriculture, playgrounds and similar (examples seen in Beatley, 2011, Newman and Jennings, 2008 Gehl, 2010, Register, 2006, Whyte, 1980). The neighborhood streets play a momentous role in the transformation of opportunities and policies conducing to better cities.

Jayne Engle and Nik Luka (2015) stress that they don't argue that there are no cases, when the necessity of clear edges in the cities is needed. Boundaries of a city can be vital in order to control urban sprawl and provide access to nature and biodiversity. They do not propose any specific templates of a neighborhood design to achieve resilience and liveability, but they rather assert the appropriate scale, particularly in an already built-out context.

Holistic ecological democratic vision

There are far more aspects for resilience and livability than physical attributes. When the citizens are not engaged in democratic mechanism on neighborhood scale, good planning and policies will not make a difference. To set a vision for a better city and its neighborhood perspective, it is crucial to bring people together in collective operations, flowing into social change. Richard Register expresses a term of 'urban fractals', meaning a portion of a city that embodies the essential functions of the whole city, but on a smaller scale (Register, 2006). It is an expression of an integral neighborhood within an ecological democracy. The integral neighborhoods adhere to a mix of land use, provision of jobs, housing, shopping and local manufacturing facilities. The determined features are compact urban form, organic agriculture, socio-economic diversity, rooftop use, and pedestrian oriented streets. The natural environment relates to its conditions and biophysical characteristics, as wind and sun conditions, and impacts the urban and architectural design and is capital for energy conservation. Mixed land use and compact patterns design offer access and the proximity that allows staying safe, housing near service provisioning venues and employment minimizes the energy use and car dependency. Randolph Hester (2006) explains the ecological democracy as a joining of participatory democracy and urban ecology. In this context his discussion is of particular importance; According to him, ecological democracy is government by the people emphasizing hands-on, direct involvement. Actions are directed by comprehension of social relationships and natural processes within locality and within larger environmental context. This leads to creative reassessment of long-term community goods, happiness, and individual needs in the inhabited place. Ecological democracy can modify the form that the cities make, creating an innovative and new urban ecology. Consecutively, the form of a city, from a bench by a bank to shapes of regional watershed, can be beneficial and helping toward constituting ecological democracy.

Hester (2006) explains the importance of ecological democracy in neighborhood as following: it is the everyday experience in the everyday environments what invokes the social change. It is conceivable that participatory practices for resilience and liveability can enforce the perception of public to realize the sort of social change their neighborhood needs. Erik Olin Wright (2010) presents a model for social transformation of how one can achieve a better city. The strategies may vary according to wider institutional and political context. For a higher number of cases one can agree that most strategies require bringing into action small transformations that contribute cumulatively to a qualitative change in the dynamics and logic of social system. Basically said, these transformation occur in practices of community development when top-down and bottom-up approaches meet on a certain level, even if any actor is excluded from the official planning process, still it is highly context dependent. A holistic approach is required, as the need of cross-sectorial intentions is essential for creating a dialog.

The holistic perception also refers to all the elements, which need to be evaluated at the site, after comprehending the perspective of society. These elements include the economic, cultural, ecological, historical, political and infrastructural structures. The authors agree on a claim, that to enable successful intervention, one cannot understand these structures separately.

Either is the context political, institutional or cultural, people around the globe live in different types of neighborhoods. The range of variations of quality or properties, facilities or overall contribution in diverse sectors is enormous. What is authentic for all is that they are fundamentally defined by people.

1.1 Neighborhood satisfaction

Mechanisms affecting satisfaction

Physical mechanism – design and quality

The relation between design of the built environment and antisocial behavior is a very debatable topic. Some have argued, there is no proof, that poor design is directly tied-up to actions of criminal behavior. But one can almost surely assume, that a dreary and impersonal architecture, or an unsafe design will negatively affect the perception of residents. However, according to van Kempen and Musterd (1991), there does not exist any remarkable relation between neighborhood satisfaction and built environment. Moreover, the social functioning within neighborhood seems to be largely dependable on the residents, thus on social mechanisms operating among them, and not as much on the management or design. Later on van Kemp suggests, that the relation between design and demeanor of residents is very complex and can't be determined expressly, but by building types,

housing standards and market situation, and for most on location. Other authors, as Dickens (1994), find connection between the neighborhood's appearance and its reputation, and add that this is what affects the perception and identity of a space. Another proposition is that distress or dissatisfaction might occur, when the residents lack, both social and environmental control. They would not feel in charge of the way and the place they live in, or whom they meet, and whom they live next to, which are common circumstances in areas of higher building concentration and dense population.

Nonetheless, it is clear, that occurrences of neglected and dilapidated buildings and public spaces cause a sense of insecurity and discomfort and thus definitely influence the perception of a neighborhood, hence the level of satisfaction. Guest and Herting (1985) consider that static appearance is more arbitrating than features, which are unstable, as air quality, noise or traffic. Parkes (2002) finds that mostly determining for neighborhood satisfaction are general appearance and housing opportunities. Cornwell and Sirgy (2002) state that physical features, as maintenance of housing and landscape are important motivations for people to move. Fine- Davis and Davis (1981) also see a relation between vicinity conditions of properties and neighborhood satisfaction. More importantly the perception of one's environment and safety has a lasting impingement on the reputation of a neighborhood, and thus influence the mindset of residents.

Social mechanism - social mixing and social cohesion

The social structure and relations in community life have a clear impact on life satisfaction. This can be easily reflected on neighborhood satisfaction scale as well. It is consensual, the authors agree, that inhabitants appreciate good relations and social contacts within their neighborhoods. As well as, their personal and family relationships, positively affect the perception of their environment. Kearns and Forrest (2001) explain, how social behavior and manners prevent isolation and encourage the gaining of social capital. It has also befallen that lack of social cohesion led to dissatisfaction of a resident, which gave him a reason for moving. Social cohesion and social contacts are also factors for the resident to feel involved, involved in the decision-making, in the activity within neighborhood and thus in the increasing of his feeling of attachment to his neighborhood. Here come the issues of differentiation and division among inhabitants. They do not necessarily belong to one group of common characteristics. Therefore the role of social mix takes place in the processes of neighborhood satisfaction, respectively on regeneration progressions. Policies accentuating social mixing, intent to attract more prosperous households, in order to improve liveability, and by that to reduce poverty, support economic growth and increase manageability. It is presumed, that the presence of middle class positively influences the lower class. There is an array of various social mechanisms that show that social mixing is vital, namely, examples of role models in middle class for political activeness and

general socialization. Among middle class the quality of housing, the self-governance, the reputation, social capital networks, social interaction are all considered influences and examples of prosperity for the lower classes. *“Although the empirical evidence supporting these assumptions is ambivalent (Galster, 2007), social mixing strategies have been widely employed in the regeneration of post-war housing estates, especially in Western European estates”* (W. P. C van Gent, 2009, p. 48) .

The context of social mix is mainly referring to socio-economic heterogeneity between inhabitants, but it also can indicate the cultural and ethnic component. Especially, in context of Western European cities, social mix usually associates to desegregation of migrant communities. According to German study, ethnic presence is also a determinant of satisfaction. Immigrants who live in ethnic neighborhoods are less satisfied, then those ones in neighborhoods with no ethnical identification.

The research that has been undertaken on social mix encloses wide range of resulting effects from social harmony to potential conflicts as well.

Institutional mechanism - access to and amenities services

Buck (2001) describes another mechanism marking the satisfaction of a neighborhood, and that is the availability of public services. This availability can be perceived directly or indirectly. Good supply of public services stands for good reputation of a neighborhood, and represents equal opportunities and public health. The basic public services considered sufficient are schooling, health care and welfare system. Additionally, it includes accessibility of facilities for entertainment, shopping, financial services and others. Not only it offers convenience and freedom of choice, but stands for a thriving and flourishing area as well, while the opposite state damages the reputation. A rich spectrum of services also offers wider access to cognitive (knowledgeable), financial (employment), social (leisure and networks), and political (defense and entitlement to formal rights) resources. Fine- Davis and Davis (1981) recognized the importance of public transport regarding the neighborhood satisfaction, notably in areas with low density.

Causes for satisfaction

In general, in existing neighborhoods, we can assign six conditions for model explaining neighborhood satisfaction; environmental quality, social mix, appropriate neighborhood regeneration, prosperity of a neighborhood and dwelling satisfaction. The satisfaction is addressing the at-hand-issues and ensuring the individual quality level. According to the analysis undertaken by Wouter van Gent (2009), using the qualitative comparative method, results are showing that there are three

possible scenarios for neighborhood satisfaction.

The first one is dwelling satisfaction in combination with social cohesion. The second one is dwelling satisfaction in combination with environmental quality. The third one is dwelling satisfaction in combination with appropriate neighborhood regeneration. Dwelling satisfaction occurs in all three of them, as it was found as an always-necessary variable for neighborhood satisfaction. Neighborhood satisfaction is not achieved without a certain level of dwelling satisfaction. But other than that, there come three other variables that are considered to play an important role in reaching satisfaction (respectively dissatisfaction). Then the mostly affecting ones were the following: social cohesion, environmental quality and neighborhood regeneration. (Out of other eight variables; perceived social mix, ethnic mix, access, neighborhood prosperity and neighborhood satisfaction.)

The first scenario conditions had been theorized before by Cornwell and Sirgy (2002). It mainly explicates the existence of higher level of satisfaction of neighborhoods, where social environment is greatly appreciated. (As for example in countries of southern Europe, where additionally environmental quality is minor.) The second scenario emphasizes inhabitants' satisfaction with their physical environment, even without eligible regeneration process (predictably, this situation takes place in countries of Western and Southern Europe). The last scenario might be justified for areas with high degree of environmental quality and social cohesion. However a certain kind of regeneration is expected in order to recall satisfaction. (Mostly occurring in Swedish, Dutch and British estates.)

Another relevant finding is, that even though dwelling satisfaction is crucial, people often give priority to internal conditions on their homes, over the external conditions of the neighborhood, regardless of satisfaction rates. The quality of the housing situation of an individual is pivotal for any regeneration, to be brought to a positive effect.

Moreover it shows relevant points for social mixing debate. Social mix perception seems to be less relevant in causing the satisfaction, yet, ethnic presence, which is a sign of social mix, combined with poor social cohesion implies dissatisfaction of inhabitants. Since social mix has been a striving component of regeneration policies for liveability, it is interesting to nuance the relation between satisfaction and social mix, which has been assumed to have a positive effect.

1.2 Neighborhood regeneration

A statement by William Grigsby from 1987 says: *“the quality of any neighborhood is always in a state of perpetual decline through aging and usage”* (Grigsby, 1987). Robson’s definition from 1975 states that, once an area reaches the point when its inhabitants have no means to keep proper preservation of their dwellings, it is necessary to intervene physically in a form of redevelopment or subsidy (Robson, 1975). However, the opulent members of neighborhood are generally well- and self-maintained through private resources. At some point an area will only attract people with no abilities to self-maintain that is when intervention is necessary. In European practices, the dwelling structure is of semipublic character. But more apparently, the regulation of liveability in a neighborhood is ultimately of public sector responsibilities, regardless of the tenure structure. Thus, the state acts as major attendant in the regeneration of a neighborhood.

Regeneration incidence typically bears upon the physical state of public environment or housing, and its impact on public health. It is usually connected with vocabulary of socio-economic issues as poverty, segregation, concentration et cetera. This refers to the importance of social change of regeneration process and tendered policies and practices. It might even be more crucial than physical decline or public health. Commonly, problems in neighborhoods are associated to minority groups, or other socio-economic class exclusion within a neighborhood.

Until 1970’s and 1980’s, the social economic structuring in cities of Europe (mostly western) subordinated social policies to Keynesian welfare state. The basis of these economic theories presented ideas of social equality, universal care, and active responses of public sector, as private sector does not avail macroeconomic outcomes in a sufficient measure. Cerny (2000) is in counter with this structure, underlining the need of reform, because of unsustainability of the state. It shifted the settlements towards new liberal market principles. Regeneration policies, which target the revitalization of urban economies, are vital in new settlements. It implies the movement towards grand scale redevelopments, and suggests new city policies, which follow more of a sequel approach of how to maintain social problems of a city. This approach indicates bias of focus on territorial policies; on the other hand, it entails centering on regional and local scale focus (Cochrane, 2007). Although the rescaling of urban governance, it does not hint at insignificance of national scale of state. Further, the national scale outlook is focal for understanding the neighborhood regeneration, as many of far-reaching policies originate from the state governance. This kind of regeneration does not solely lead to social change, in the sense of social economic change and liveability on local level, but it also socially evolves itself in wider context.

Regeneration and neighborhood satisfaction

The policy makers of European countries dealing with urban social matters tend to rely on the so-called multi-sector, area-based and integrated initiatives (Parkinson, 1998). The focus of these policies is mostly orientated on the most socially deprived and economically striving neighborhoods. The objectives of urban regenerations are often focused to engage the social economic deficit and contribute to improve liveability of those areas. Liveability is a subjective matter of perception of daily living environment and refers to place-based attributes. These attributes are for example quality of urban design, housing stock, cleanliness, physical appearance, safety, quality of public space, or intensity of social interactions among residents. Noticeably, liveability is a crucial part of interventions, which are dealing with improvement of the environment. The improvement of public space, access to services, apartment blocks, prevention of odors, declination of crimes, are ways for enhancing the liveability. The expectations are the positive outcome of regeneration, as an overall perception of a neighborhood, leading to satisfaction of residents.

Even though it may seem, that the level of liveability is a direct indicator of neighborhood satisfaction, this measure can differ greatly. The efforts of private and public sector towards neighborhood regenerations are not as straightforward, as the feelings of satisfaction are very much individual and depend on the type of neighborhood and its socio-economic status. That is why studying satisfaction according to different perceptions of residents is essential as well. These studies date back from 1980's and 1990's (e.g. Michelson, 1977, Davis and Fine-Davis 1981, Miller et al., 1980, Baldassare, 1982, Fried, 1984 Cook, 1988 Herting and Guest, 1985), to some more recent as well (e.g. Parkes et al., 2002, Kearns and Parkes, 2003, Shields and Wooden, 2003, Pan Ké Shon, 2007 or Sirgy and Cornwell, 2002). Van Kempen (2002) disagrees with sufficiency of these studies, saying, that what often misses is a solid theoretical explanation of discontent and causality of satisfaction (Priemus and van Kempen, 2002). In those studies, there are series of usual indicators and characteristics for a neighborhood satisfaction, as ethnicity, demographic composition, employment and income, social cohesion, safety, access to services and facilities, and the built environment. Another signifier for satisfaction, other than these features is a personal disposition. For instance, demographical situation can influence perception of satisfaction significantly, as young people tend to be more easily dissatisfied, than elderly. This is due to large discrepancy between current situation and expectations (Parkes et al., 2002, Fine- Davis and Davis, 1981). It is indicated, when residents in disadvantaged areas have no expectation of any change in their personal conditions, it might possibly reduce their ambitions and thus adapt the expectations of their living setting, what would then limit the actual dissatisfaction and even produce a fraction of satisfaction. In social psychology this phenomenon is known as cognitive dissonance reduction. This theory is only one of many others in

field of social psychology, asserting people's intention of consistency achievement among various conditions, still it happens through freedom of choice. Thus the range of choices on the housing market influences the neighborhood satisfaction. It is clear that the choice of dwelling and neighborhood depends on personal wealth and income, but it is not evident what amount of 'residential pitfall' will strike upon the resident's opinion and perception. It is not proven that people from distressed areas would be more immune to negative conditions than people used to general conditions. The perception of neighborhood rest on interchange between number of factors, as personal as common characteristics.

Factors influencing neighborhood regeneration on neighborhood level

Neighborhood change and regeneration is driven by interplay between several external and internal forces, impinging multiple geographical scales. The forces are external and internal because there are agents and actors influencing the neighborhood within it and outside of it. The geographical scales are multiple because a neighborhood is embedded in a city; therefore the characteristics relating to the city are also relevant and influential for the neighborhood.

Whether certain factors may or may not affect the neighborhood, and how it affects it, depends on the context of each particular neighborhood (Engels, 1998, Decroly and van Criekingen, 2003). Even so, there can be made a sort of generalization to summarize the factors. The Table 1 categorizes the factors according to the neighborhood level of influence and the Table 2 establishes on the other hand the city level influences.

Table 1: Factors underlying neighborhood regeneration at neighborhood level

Factor
Neighborhood nature and characteristics
Proximity to amenities, institutions and employment
Aesthetic housing
Low vacancy rate
The potential of housing investment
Low crime perception
Internal forces of neighborhood

External forces of neighborhood

Resident satisfaction, confidence and attachment

Community organization

Commitment by private sector and local government

High social capital

Interest of financial institutions

Table 2: Factors underlying neighborhood regeneration at city level

Factor
High income, or a rising tendency
Strong business base, with employment growth
High quality of life
Rising values of housing
Quality education system
Positive public image and representations
Strong local government
Taxes conditions

1.3 Liveability in neighborhoods

Liveability is an emerging issue, tackling a question of area-based initiatives on a neighborhood scale (Lawless, 2007). Liveability issues mostly require unique environmental approach regarding a specific location. One could relate issues of local liveability to social deprivation, but the indicators of those two break down into two ways. Indicators of social deprivation might refer to external factors, as also for example traffic. Whereas, liveability indicators solely relate to residents and are considered a very subjective matter. For example residents in higher income households typically have other

expectations than those in lower. The relation between liveability and social deprivation is not apparent on neighborhood level that is why it is difficult to prove relation between social division liveability, inasmuch as social exclusion and deprivation are on the same level.

The term can have a broad range of interpretation and covers a vast scope of human needs, from food through basic security to cultural expression or appearance of beauty. It closely relates to the sense of belonging to a place, inherent to a community. The concept of liveability, alongside with sustainability guide us to reflect the quality of life of residents- members of a community. It indicates how the choice and activities of some individuals impact on others, even those of future generations. The goal of sustainability, to remain functioning for future generations is applicable for liveability principles as well.

It comes all down to the interaction of activities in one place, meeting the needs of inhabitants, promoting well-being and health, protecting ecosystem functions and natural resources. As a cross-disciplinary concept it contributes and cumulates impacts of private and public actions in order to inquiry any external issues, which might be ignored or inadequately handled by market mechanisms. These tools can be investment and lending policies, business environment, consumer conditions, government decisions and similar.

With the growing attention to liveability, the concerns are spreading from local to national level, considering the influence of the environment, mobility, economy and social well-being. Also the role of Internet has intervened greatly on the way information is spread, developed, integrated and used for decision-making. The innovative public policy actions, as constraint urban sprawl, location-efficient loans, pollution regulation, energy savings, or environment protection rely on the concepts of liveability. Although it is a very complex justification, the concept has become important especially because social well-being is still a profound matter, as it adds to more livable communities (Smith, 1973). Nonetheless, there are many other factors than the environment and its uses, like economic resources and background as well. The economy plays a crucial role in shaping the quality of life, as it cover the dimension of employment. On this depend the working hours, health insurance, wage rate, affordable transit, childcare options, retirement benefits and others. These attributes shape the working conditions of an individual, which consequently round up in shaping a family, and its ability to have a secure housing, support infrastructure and other urban services, which transfer into forming community liveability.

Last but not least, liveability concerns growing recognition of current outlines of urban life and emerging consumption habits, which are neither sustainable nor healthy. The long lasting non-

regulation of heavy industrialization has brought pollution-related health problems, and water, soil and air pollution is still growing. Majority of cities in the developed world consume inappropriate portion of ecosystem resources as forest, water and aquatic resources and waste assimilation expands as well. Environmental justice is likewise a contributing element to liveability. The existing communities, especially the ones made up of minority groups, suffering from disproportionate exposure to environmental threats or which are denied access to environmental amenities are referred to be reduced from ecological footprint, as mentioned by Rees and Wackernagel (1996). All in all, the sense of liveability is a many-sided concept depending on geopolitical, cultural and overall living standards. Nonetheless it allows diverse actors and stakeholders to come together and bring liveability into line as a goal of public policies.

1.4 Current strategies for neighborhood development in social context

1.4.1 Social mix

Social mix as a policy concept is perceived as a questionable issue. There is no convincing empirical evidence for considering these mechanisms affecting the neighborhood in a way to be justified as socially intrusive policy.

Social mix targets the area of planning looking for solution for aging housing estates. The intention is to mix and include different backgrounds in the same neighborhood. It applies to mixing of income, to combine high-income and low-income households in same residential space. This is usually achieved by tenancy of former social housing, which has been owner-occupied, and continues to allow new tenants, but of different classes. Even though this approach is not newly established, it dates back to mid 19th century in Britain; the way it has been implemented recently in the redevelopment processes is new and has become a part of contemporary neoliberal urbanism. Cost reasons have typically driven this endeavor of shortage on social deprivation and tendency for social inclusion for tenants in social housing, throughout social mix measures. Following the neoliberal orthodoxy, the housing agencies and governments shall be entrepreneurial in raising funds, and making use of the private sector capacity. Then the idea behind that is that the communities of social housing can be more liberated and self-dependent, rather than hang on the welfare-state model of income distribution, which shall build houses for underprivileged. In so far, that the buildings and infrastructure in social housing communities come to an anticipated end, there is necessity of involving private sector developers. They commonly desire the most enticing lands for building out owner-occupied housing, allowing the developer to participate on the profit.

Kathy Arthurson in her book on social mix and social housing calls in question those estimations and such an almost miraculous positive impact. Even though she presents case studies, showing different ways of implementing the ideas of social mix with success, even within the equal urban, economic, cultural and jurisdictional context. In her thoughtful conclusion, she finds that some of the beliefs other practitioners have about the ideal of social mix do not identify with reality. The assumption, that tenants of social housing and homeowners would socialize together, that physical presence would automatically generate understanding, respect to each other and social cohesion is little naïve. As well as the idea that higher standards of living will raise standards of nearby households of poor conditions, that the poor ones adopt the customs of rich ones, and see them as sort of a role model. Although it is conceivable, it can even cause conflicts or limit the social interactions. Still it is plausible that the processes of redevelopment in communities and the forms and level of social mixes are not definite and may vary from case to case and individual circumstances.

The author finds out in performed interviews that responses in these communities can be categorized in two domains. 'The first one is the domain of integration, when people are willing to include others, to see social problems and poverty, and are open to share the neighborhood. The second one is the domain of segregation, where the tendency is to blame any problems of local community on the social housing tenants, in such a way that it creates social and spatial distinction between different classes.

Other concern from Arthurson's work is the redevelopment effect on social stigma. The tenants of social housing affirm, that being physically segregated from redeveloped communities to different streets or different neighborhoods, cause social stigma perception. On contrary, when they are dispersed among upper or middle class households, especially when it is not recognizable what kind of background each unit is, they feel much happier and less stigmatized.

1.4.2 Active design and participatory design

It is a natural human reaction, that women and men are more motivated when they are able to have a word in decisions, which affect their lives. For active citizenship is essential to achieve a meaningful participation, based on the belief that this participation contributes to a healthy community. It can be achieved by fair participation, especially by directing it on involvement of those who have experienced marginalization, social exclusion or any kind of discrimination. It can succeed by giving opportunities and space for shared experience from local to global level.

Participatory planning is associated with terms as collaborative, deliberative or communicative planning. It first occurred in western cities when the second half of the 20th century brought rapid

changes and planning institutions failed to cope with these turning point. The definition can be described as replacing of technical rationality of bureaucratic and hierarchical planning processes with theories and practices aimed at a more democratic and inclusive attitude. This has been done by ambition to involve a full range of stakeholders into the planning process, and open up a dialogue, collaboration and deliberation at its core (Booher and Innes, 2003, Forestes, 1999, Healy 1996). Collaborative and participatory planning theories indicate that the adequate communication and emphasis on inclusiveness, interaction and equal discussion should be the basis for any planning process. If these conditions are met, the participants (stakeholders, inhabitants, politicians, planners, etc.) should understand and learn from each other's opinions and interests. Preferably, they should commonly evaluate and identify problems and afterwards propose solutions for a planning project. The desired result should be based on consensus and the solution possibly most suitable for all actors involved (Healy 1996).

Active involvement is also connected to activity in physical terms. If there are places where people meet to practice physical activity, it is a kind encounter and fellow feeling and may lead to social interaction. The initiative of World Health Organization (WHO) 'healthy urban planning' has started as a collaborative project with Healthy cities movement. It evaluates the degree on how successfully were the projects developed for healthy urban planning. According to World Health Organization an active design is a design, which delivers a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being. Active stands mostly for active movement and exercise, which shall slow down the emerging rise of chronic diseases as obesity, diabetes, artery and cardiovascular diseases, cancer, stroke asthma and psychological disorders. From an environmental point of view the main aim is to minimize impact of climate change and improve access to clean water and air. From a sociable point of view, it permits to strengthen social fabric, decrease mental health stress and allow access to healthy food. One way to achieve it is to follow principles of healthy designed communities. According to Radiance Health Centre it includes these so called dimensions of wellness, spiritual, social, financial, occupational, physical, environmental, intellectual and emotional, which is supposed to be balanced, for the state of whole well being.

To compel people to exercise, one possible way is to promote a proper walkability of places and cycling-friendliness. Walkability strategies are important to create an active center of a community, where most necessities and commercial facilities are in walking distances, which means neighborhoods are clustered to support the larger center. Public transports should be controlled in a way that leads to usage and should assure walking intervals in-between. There has been introduced number of projects, as 'The 20 minute neighborhood', or 'Rate my street' for crowd source rating of walkability.

Author of *Made for Walking*, Julie Campoli (2012) has set design features for walkability called *five D's and one P*. In this set she tells how to achieve liveability and walkability at the same time. The five D's represent Diversity (mix of uses), Destination Accessibility (walking distances), Distance to transit Design, Density, and Parking. It is necessary to emphasize that walking will not increase by building more crossings or sidewalks. Walkability assert many details, as street connectivity, lower speed of vehicles and many other, however it requires complex and holistic town making. There is not a single approach or act, which would make city walkable, there is always one completing the others.

The settlement health map has been adapted by many health agencies, World Health Organization including. It seeks the inspiration in three sources: principles of human ecology, social theories determining health, and components of planning disciplines. The origin and insight goes back to Hancock's "Mandala of health" (1985), which linked the human ecosystem and health. Even more specifically the Dahlgren's and Whitehead's model (1991) of the social determinants of health. The map depicts the dependence and correlation of human settlements and the surrounding global environment.

The settlement map (Fig. 1) is a dynamic tool, emphasizing the purpose of settlements and the planning of settlements, which is to offer healthy human habitat. Brundtland (1987) reflects this dialogue also in anthropogenic definition of sustainable development. The sequence in the illustration goes through different spheres of social, economic and environmental variables of a settling, jointed to wider social, economic and political forces, which are placed within all enclosing spheres of the earth. Each of these spheres relates to elemental discipline of spatial planning, as geography, economy, public health, sociology, behavioral science, ecology and environmental science. The planning authorities influence most directly the built environment sphere, through design, planning, management and construction of channels and spaces. Looking from outside in the diagram, the point of the channels and spaces is to enable movement and activities, promote healthy lifestyle and social interaction, and support the economy. Transformation of the built environment comes from demands made on it, by the activity of the inner spheres, and the investment coming from economic activity. The social networks, lifestyle, activities, employment opportunities and the built environment are much of designator and influential of physical and mental well-being. Other way around, looking from inside to outer spheres, the built environment sphere influence the natural environment, and vice-versa. On both global and local scale the settlements are very dependable on the ecological nature processes. Obviously good health depends on air and water quality, fresh food, hygiene, access to nature, and protection from climatic extremes.

The inner and outer layers are directly related. The alliance is apparent, when people rather walk than rely on car; consequently greenhouse emissions are not produced. This shows the linkage between the micro-scale of personal behavior and health and the macro-scale of global ecology. The map encourages the realization of this symbiosis, which is a simple correlation between healthy people, healthy spaces and healthy planet. This implies the holistic already mentioned approach toward the policy evaluation.

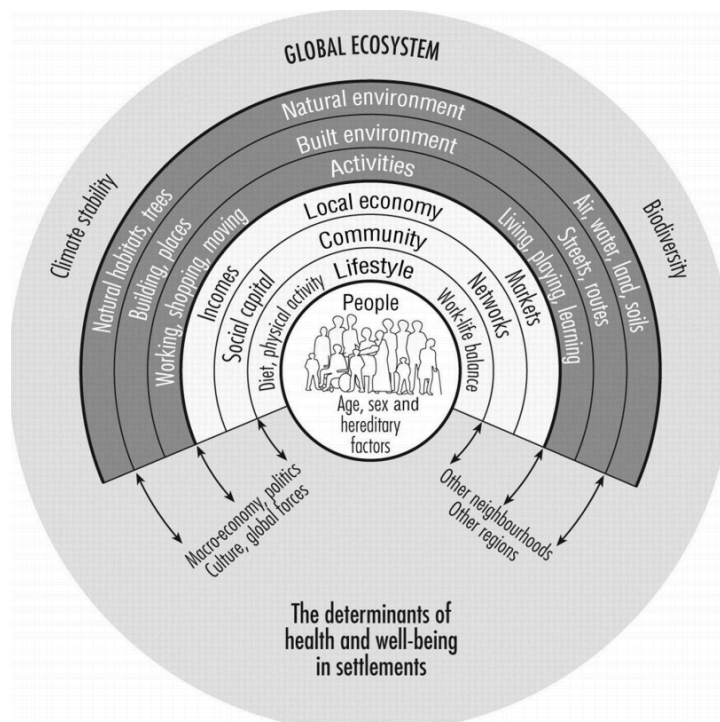


Figure 1. Human ecology model of a settlement (*The Routledge Handbook of Planning for health and well-being: Shaping Bartho and Grant, 2006 p. 12*)

The Figure 2 proposes a broad conceptual framework on the right side, replacing the consecutive approach on the left side. The conceptual model (Hoehner et al., 2003) shows multiple pathways and processes between these key attributes, which should be considered in order to be able to understand the various affinities between health promoting behavior in natural surroundings and possible health betterment. This approach is clearly interdisciplinary, involving human ecology, psychology, epidemiology, sociology and medical science. When using this kind of model it is possible to include more of stakeholder's variety during the course of project, while trying to integrate three sorts of knowledge; knowledge from scientific research (1), knowledge from professional practitioners (2) and lastly the implicit knowledge of stakeholders and citizens (3). The relation between certain kind of human behavior (leisure, physical activity, social interaction) and positive

health outcomes has been found by a great number of empirical studies. Although it has been a matter of many psychological and social studies, there is no clear evidence that there is a positive effect of natural environment on human health. Finally, there is almost no coordinated empirical research, which would have proven the natural environments as catalyzer for behavior, which promotes health and leads automatically to positive health outcomes. The framework of the integrated concept (on the right) should therefore replace the fragmentary approach that had been dominating.

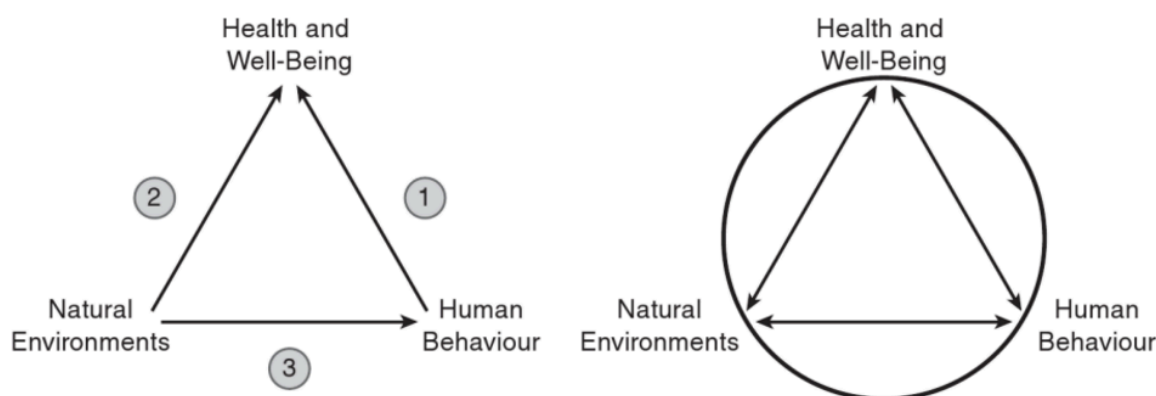


Figure 2. Relation between human behavior and positive health impacts (*The Routledge Handbook of Planning for health and well-being: Shaping Barthön and Grant, 2006 p. 82*)

1.4.3 Increased interest of bottom-up approach and micro-level developments

Citizens' participation allows people to express themselves and let the ideas come from them. In some field they know the best what they miss and what they would like to improve.

The ambition behind bottom-up approach is also to simplify or forestall a complicated policy framework, which might hinder certain processes. They can serve as catalyst spin-offs for intervention. Mistakenly they might be considered to be a simpler approach, but often they suggest very tailor-made solutions and require micro-management, and thus cannot follow almost any scheme or structure.

The bottom-up initiatives undertake higher risk of financial sources. The initiatives include usually more stakeholders, which can lead to uncertain consequences. Responsibility is upon many partners and components, which can take up more time in realization and completion of the processes, possibly even increase the costs. In case of expansion of anticipated and planned schedules, long-term dedication from the initiators is required. That is why it is important to get to know the stakeholders

and partners carefully. Another complication can be the hierarchical policy framework system of urban planning of the country.

The main characteristic and core principle of these initiatives is the small-scale extent. Though it is hard to define accurately the small scale. De Solà-Morales says that the scale is relative, as well as the particular proportions for proposed transformation (De Solà-Morales, 2008). He emphasizes rather the extent of the impact of the intervention. The bottom-up approach aims with smaller changes for bigger impact. Scale is not only referring to size, as it can also be measured as financial input. This principle is also important due to lower budgets available from municipalities. At the same time it is important to ensure that the benefits won't outweigh the costs. Obviously, this might be difficult to predict, when the benefits appear on social level. The initiator is responsible for estimation, whether the project would be worthy.

1.4.4 Collective behavior for common outcomes

Collective behavior for collective purposes is involved in community development in processes of analysis of people's circumstances, in identifying their needs and priorities, in issues addressed through their collective action. The focus is to achieve rather collective outcomes of a community than the one of an individual person. It requires uplifting the solidarity between citizens through alliances with organizations, groups and agencies in order to put forward community objectives as well as educate in this context.

Collective actions towards collective outcomes and analysis of these actions are fundamental for community development to happen. This translates to working with people collectively to analyze their shared problems and let them be a part of changing those common concerns.

Collective behavior is also relevant for generating and enhancing networking. This can be beneficial for creating employment possibilities, or just for strengthening community integrity. Collective outcomes mean that the undertaken actions are beneficial for a community as a whole. This requires working with people to change and challenge them as individuals, but policies and practices of institutions as well.

1.4.5 Social justice

The notion of social rights is an essential step, when acknowledging entitlement of all citizens and their share in the public perseverance. It is in the pursuit and belief of this entitlement to ensure an equal share of the basic requirements and necessities that universal policies aim to legitimate

expectations and minimize the inequality of living standards, that might result from the inequality of income (Lowe, 1997).

Social justice, citizenship and equality had become ideological engines for change. As early as in 1931 author Tawney states: *“To criticize inequality and to desire equality is not, as is sometimes suggested, to cherish a romantic illusion that men are equal in intelligence and character. It is to hold that, while their natural endowment differ profoundly, it is the mark of a civilized society to aim at elimination such inequalities as have their source, not in individual differences but in social organization”* (Tawney, 1931, cited in Sennett, 2003).

On the Figure 3 is depicted ‘The planner’s Triangle’, which represents three fundamental priorities of planning. These are social equity, environmental protection and economic development. To those priorities are associated three spheres of conflicts, over property and development or over resources. Three broad political and social institutions manage those conflicts; the social welfare state, environmental regulation and economics, and environmental justice. Planner themselves, inevitably indicate where they act in the triangle. The subtle idea of sustainable development is in the center.

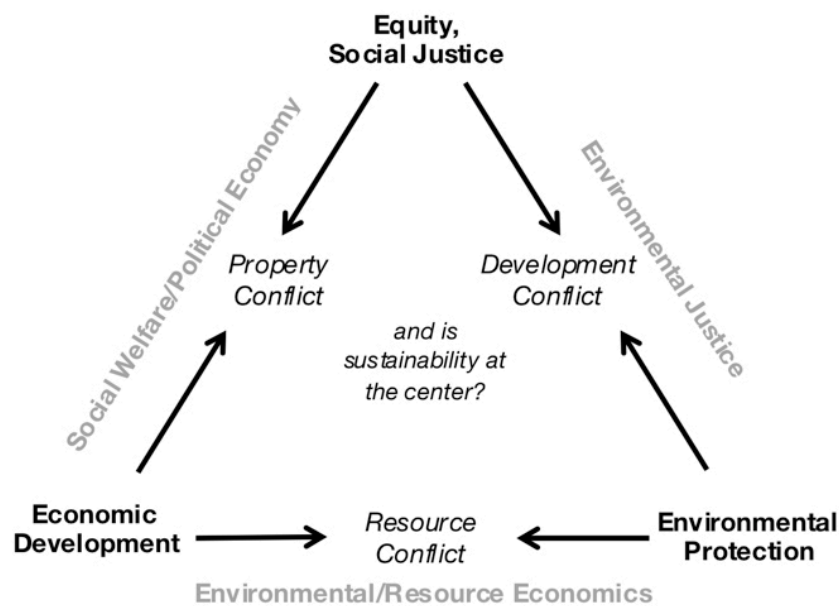


Figure 3. ‘The Planner’s Triangle’, The elusive ideal of sustainable development (adapted from Campbell 2013, originally by Campbell and Scott, 1996 p. 297).

This riddle also hints the urgency to achieve greater equity, in sustainability era and to develop alternative political strategies. On the pathway to social justice, which would not be relying on the material consumption, continual resources expansion and transformation of green spaces into urbanized areas. This is a matter of both political and ideological challenge. Furthermore, it is linked

to separation of resource extraction and economic growth through shifting a greater share of GDP and greater natural resources efficiencies towards rather non-material consumption (as service, education, health, culture, care, arts).

1.4.6 Urban Identity

The sense of identity, or its rediscovery is implying aspect for planning processes targeting urban quality of any space. Especially in an already-existing environment the preservation of visible structure is usually very challenging. Urban regeneration does not only modify physical form of an environment but moreover transforms the perception and experience of emotional and psychological relation between urban space and human (Beauregard and Holcom, 1981). In literature cited by Mumford, Lynch and Jacobs the most important elements defining urban environment are continuity and diversity. Diversity is essential for creating a lively urban environment and should be embraced through urban renewal. Lynch (1960) accentuates the importance of perceptions of the city inhabitants themselves. The environment should reflect the complex society and their individuals, their historical traditions, their inspiration, their natural settings, and the movements and complicated functions of cities. Jacobs sees the greatest assets of a city in the overall entirety of bringing together an unpredicted mix of people with diverse interests in one community. She views the intricate mingling of uses as natural generator to profile new ideas and enterprises of different kinds. Kevin Lynch acclaims the continuity, even though diversity is an essential characteristic. For Beauregard and Holcomb, the sense of continuity is a necessary feature for one's sense of reality, but over time city shall part in many distinctive interconnected patterns. Therefore it is important to maintain the homogeneity of a city after its revitalization. According to Lynch the local continuity shall be a keystone of reshaping settlements. Along these lines diversity and continuity are essential components for conserving urban identity in processes of urban renewal. Nonetheless it has not been an automatic element since those definitions. The global model has threatened the local integrity and authenticity and so the identity and cities were exposed to uniformity. The term of 'placelessness' has lodged in many places influenced by mass culture.

The awareness and the meaning of a place have emerged within contemporary planning schemes. Projects intend to create meaningful places through energy flows and enhancement of potential richness and finding what is beyond. De Solá-Morales adds, that the creation of a place exists from wealth of significance and out of the clarification (De Solà-Morales, 2008). To De Solá-Morales this articulates as a creation of stimulated urbanism, not the conventional urban image, not necessarily high density, but the right balance between activity and building. He comprehends the contact between the material urbanity and human body as a constitution of the urban experience.

An example when the author aims to create place with focus on the potential richness is a principle shown in a project on a trash hill in Taiwan. Casagrande (2008) sees the potential of the site in compost that can be turned into fertile soil. The government wanted to abolish the place, but Casagrande interprets it as exposed beauty with energy underneath. De Solà-Morales agrees and emphasizes the importance of taking advantages of anything that might be striking the senses in order to amplify the mental significance of the site (De Solà-Morales, 2008). It might be necessary to evoke congestion and conflict among material contacts. De Solà-Morales further addresses to provoke unexpected, surprising considerations and juxtapositions. He states that mixed functions and uses may not always be enough. The target of interventions is not a fixed endpoint. They make use of local knowledge and understanding and are open for alternative functions, shifting from permanency of planning.

Identity is about feeling of the space, avoiding discomforts and feeling of being a stranger.

1.4.7 Resilience and adaptability

Concept of adaptability closely relates to holistic viewpoint of social-ecological resilience, together with concept of transformability (Folke et al., 2010). Folke sees a critical aspect in awareness of societal matter, as social and urban change through using of ecological terms, where there is a risk to attempt to simplify the complex nature of these changes. He emphasizes that the social perspective is an essential component of resilience, especially when considering social changes. Later on he states other important part of resilience, adaptability. Folke defines adaptability as: *“The capacity to adjust responses to changing external drivers and internal processes and thereby allow for development along the current trajectory”* (Folke et al. 2010 p. 1). This signifies that adaptability is the capability to adjust and accommodate to change. As aforementioned the concepts of adaptability and transformability are closely related, however the authors argue that the difference is that in the case of transformation, the system undertakes a new set of development and creates new opportunity for innovation and novelty. Yet, both concepts relate to shifting processes dealing with consequences of change.

Most efforts pointing out adaptability are meant to create dense and compact cities with recycling and smart growth as main objective. De la Fuente, Kärrholm and Nylund (2012) formulate it as a creation of space within a city. These authors claim that this aspect needs to be further addressed, since many design and urban planning challenges are attendant upon spatial issues. Consequently they suggest that the viewpoint on adaptability is very similar to flexibility schemes. Flexibility is the longer used concept, which includes possibility to change both the spatial and built structures over a longer period of time, considering future needs.

Within resilience, adaptability and spatial perspective is built on a connection of these concepts, referred to as loose space. The loose space should allow possible different usages, affordances and adaptation and changes without intruding the identity, creating objects with rich associations and objects, which can be mobilized in more kinds of different situations (Kärrholm, Nylund and de la Fuente, 2014). The notion of loose space is thought provoking when urban resilience relates to public space, and the borders between non-fixed temporary uses and fixed primary uses are hazy. Stevens and Franck (2006) characterize loose space as shaped by human and public activities. In this space the form, meaning and use become fluid over time. These authors debate that urban public space is often more loose than private space, forasmuch as its expectations and definitions are less exclusive. But in this context plays also a role the fact that public space generally offers more freedom and accessibility and choices to do a variety of activities (such as entertainment, leisure, political or self-expression, social integration or reflection). According to Stevens and Franck the loose space assesses three qualities: firstly, possibility of limitless functions and non-determinacy; secondly, diversity, which is offering a variety of activities and attracting a variety of people; lastly, disorder, which lacks constraints and control, thus includes flexibility. Most literature definitions refer to resilience as a capacity or an ability of a system. However the viewpoint on this system differs among the authors.

Montgomery (1998) incorporates in the definition of successful urban space, both the ability to adjust and adapt through changing conditions, and the mixture and diversity that creates the loose urban space. Space, which follows this description of loose space, usually requires less effort and time in the adapting process towards the change (Arefi, 2011). The concept of loose space shows that public and urban areas have a chance to be adaptable thanks to the diversity and flexibility they have.

The definition from 2012 by ICLEI (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives) says: “*Resilience is the capacity and ability of a community to withstand stress, survive, adapt, bounce back from a crisis or disaster and rapidly move on. Resilience needs to be understood as the societal benefit of collective efforts to build collective capacity and the ability to withstand stress*” (ICLEI 2012 p. 5).

Hauge Simonsen and Moberg (2011) include more urban and social perspective, as they go further on the system characteristic, they illustrate the scope of systems, which need to deal with a change, from individual to any form of environment. The definition reads as follows: “*Resilience is the capacity of a system, be it an individual, a forest, a city or an economy, to deal with change and continue to develop. It is about the capacity to use shocks and disturbances like a financial crisis or climate change to spur renewal and innovative thinking. Resilience thinking embraces learning,*

diversity, is the long-term capacity of a system to deal with change and continue to develop“ (Moberg & Hauge Simonsen, 2011 p. 3).

Resilience in these definitions is seen more as a process, rather than a state or conditions in a given moment. As discussed, the process starts with a sort of disturbance and continues with phases of transformation and adaptation. These phases can be perceived as reorganization, or as an opportunity to use disturbances and shocks (like climate change or financial crisis) to emerge an urban renewal and innovative thinking (Moberg & Hauge Simonsen, 2011 p. 3). In case of reorganization, the system survives, moves on or bounces back (Carpenter et al, 2012). How the resilience is viewed is crucial for the outcomes. According to these definitions, if the disturbance or change is viewed as a threat, it is accepted to handle the system in the way to its previous, pre-disruption state. If the change has a potential to evolve into something, what can contribute to further development or new opportunities, it is desirable to seek for innovative solutions and turn the system toward new directions.

Both, Local Governments for Sustainability, founded as International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (2012) and Hauge Simonsen and Moberg (2011) emphasize the importance of educating within resilience. ICLEI interprets this as an ability to learn and understand the disturbances, but also learn from the past own mistakes and experiences. Additionally, the role of giving a good example and a solution shall be encompassed as well. Hauge Simonsen and Moberg (2011) include in their statement the diversity of the concept. As said, it carries both social and ecological meaning, while ICLEI indicates the community and societal benefits of resilience, when applying the collective efforts and capacity, what similarly illustrates sustainability concept.

2. SOCIAL ATTRIBUTES OF NEIGHBORHOOD PERCEPTION

In the last decades the role of social attributes in planning has generated a great deal of importance and interest. Social sciences involved in the designing processes bring on to capture the psychology - how people perceive the space around them and interact with other people, the history - how the physical form of a place evolved, and the anthropology and sociology - how to create places that meet the needs of different social groups.

What is it that defines our wellbeing? Besides of many elements, it is mostly our financial situation and our social values and structures. The quality of urban living is jeopardized by the impact of globalization and the major role of economy on urban system. The cities are in urgent need to get release from dominance of business and economy, which plays their share of importance. Nonetheless an ethical approach bearing the role of individuals needs to be elemental again. Human scale has been forgotten in the process of building of bigger and larger spaces. This is creating a significant difference between something very big, thus impersonal, and something smaller, thus intimate. Our sensory development is closely tight to landscape. That is why it is vital to redefine balance between city and nature, where the environment is of primary care, and allows to citizens life of shared experience.

‘Quality of life’ emerged as a concept within the Social Indicators Movement of the 1960’s and questioned basic assumptions about the relationship between economy and social well-being and the complex nature of individual and social material and immaterial well-being. Quality of life might refer to a citizen’s satisfaction with residential environments, traffic, crime rate, employment opportunities, or the amount of open space (Hamam Serag El Din et al., 2012). Alternatively, this phrase might refer to less tangible qualities such as freedom of expression and social justice. Character of place considers some of these same attributes as bundles of features linked to particular places (e.g. how a community’s health is affected by air quality or access to health services).

2.1 Social urban quality of life

The social environment has a clear impact on the way its inhabitants lead their lives. A good social environment involves community cohesion, strong social capital, high level of social contacts and lacks on social isolation. Partly the social environment depends on the physical design of an area. For instance, if places of education, employment, shopping, leisure, and other commercial and social

amenities are within a small area, with easy access for the citizens, those people are more likely to have closer contact with their local community.

Dr. Shimeon Amir writes in his paper on social indices for social evaluation of quality of life that normative and organizational provisions have to be made by society to determine social indicators in the physical planning of a new neighborhood. In this sense he implies to concerns of the allocation for recreation, need for a change of population patterns or possible restriction of new object to excess certain standards. Even if this remains questionable, there are four basic value areas that every society needs to determine. That would be the minimum income to reach quality of life, as well as maximum income, as a ceiling to resources that could be used by an individual. Followed by the range of diversity, to allow freedom of choice among services and goods and lastly the range of organizations, with eventual limitation of freedom, necessary for the organization of society.

Nowadays the effects of psychological quality features are an arising issue. Such as safety and security, protection of public health, education, social integration, respect to diversity and cultural identities, foster equality, (gender, religious or ethnic), inclusion of people with disabilities and of other specifications (elderly, children, migrants), promoting special diversification, mixed income, and mixed housing. No less are important the environmental quality features, such as, respecting local landscape and acting towards respect and care.

According to literature we can define seven main dimensions, which contribute to the urban quality of life, depicted on the Figure 4. The political urban quality stands for the policies (local or global), the environmental urban quality signifies natural aspects and resources of the neighborhood, and the physical quality refers to urban fabric and land use, facilities, services and infrastructure. Mobility urban quality represents accessibility, distribution, and traffic and transportation matters. Social urban quality concerns social dimension as people's interaction, integration and participation. Psychological urban quality is subject of feeling of residents towards their neighborhood and environment, dwelling on identity and belonging importance. Last one, the economical urban quality characterizes the environment from a point of view of economic activities.

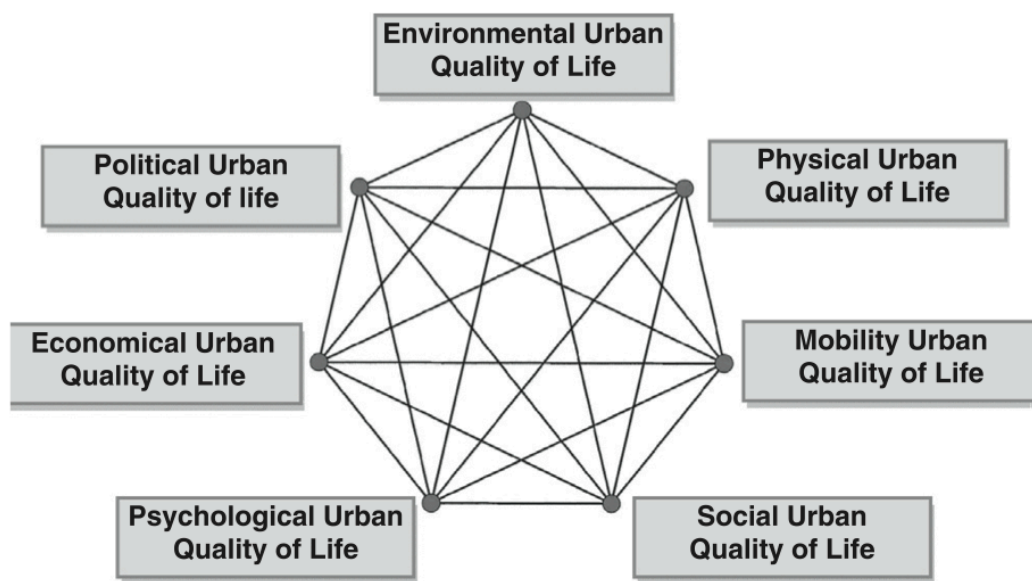


Figure 4. Urban quality of life dimensions – Heptagon Shape (HBRC Journal 2012, Hamam Serag El Din et al.)

Principles of urban quality of life for a neighborhood by Hamam Serag El Din et al. (2012) describes that social urban quality of life can be achieved by the following actions:

- ✓ Promoting social justice and equity by providing equal access to affordable economic activities, housing, facilities and services
- ✓ Remove all barriers that might ban the participation in daily life of any social groups, as for instance those with disabilities, women, elderly and children
- ✓ Design the buildings and streets so they would emphasize safe environments
- ✓ Promote social integration by offering a broad choice of housing types, price levels and tenure types
- ✓ Encourage good relationships and daily interactions between people by providing public gathering places and civic buildings
- ✓ Include social participation into all project processes
- ✓ Promote liveability of streets by bringing comfortable, safe, interesting squares and streets to the pedestrian

- ✓ Support neighborhood stability by guaranteeing secure tenure

Other than social urban quality, psychological urban quality must be perceived as well. The following key points shall be followed to attain psychological urban quality of life:

- ✓ Promote community identity by protecting historic remains, heritage, and making landscape and architecture responding to its context
- ✓ Offer an opportunity for people to entitle a place of their own by giving a possibility to personalize that space
- ✓ Promote a pleasing milieu by embracing an urban and esthetic attractiveness of the built environment

2.2 Community development

The heterogeneity of our neighborhoods creates differences, which sometimes lead to exclusion or inequality. The results are the structures and policies that we try to apply to reduce and coordinate the undesired consequences. The overall purpose of community development is to transform those unwelcome realities due to involvement of people as the actors of change. Processes of community development are value-based practices, different from other planning activities and aiming for a more equal and sustainable society through working with people to build their skills, knowledge, by acting and analyzing in order to make them aware of possible changes. People have the right to participate in society, in decision-making, in the evolvement of their surroundings; however, it is not always as common. Collective action through collective analysis targeting collective outcomes is one of most fundamental features for community development to happen. That means to work with people collectively and determine their own problems in order to include them in the processes of change. The collective outcomes stand for benefits from those changes for the community as a whole, in favor of personal development but rather of a group than of an individual advancement. This also requires encouraging people to develop respect and tolerance toward each other and grow an attitude of being aware of others as well as being aware of policies and practices of institutions, which support those kinds of actions. It shall help to transform or re-establish the institutional system, bring together the diverse interests and build a partnership at both regional and societal level. So it can increase the capacity of a society for democratic self-organization.

It is important that, the changes the people are heading to, have a long lasting impact on their own life and lifestyle but on the future generation as well. This relates to the above-mentioned awareness and recognition of own needs but on the other side also of others. The effort is more than about contributing to equal society, since the inequality is not only created by communities, but by the kind of thinking which supports inequality. This means that even though community development measures are made on neighborhood scale, they have further going impact. Further ambition can be an inspiration and have impact on negative ideology or mindset, which leads to sustaining inequality or exclusion in communities. While it might be simplistic to describe, the progression is not so simple. In fact, a long-term commitment is needed as well as support of competences and authorities. Only then, there is a chance of meaningful development toward social cohesion in democratic and inclusive Europe. The figure 5 visually displays the systematical order of actions toward this aim.



Figure 5. Visualization of aims within community development

The goals of community developments shall reflect the democratic principles of Europe. The intervention measures shall be in conformity with a true expression of principle of subsidiarity, making sure that the problems are addressed at the possibly lowest level. It shall value all citizens equally and worth of inclusion of all processes of development to respect democracy and egalitarianism. It shall seek to unite people across race and gender and thus promote equality and elude racism, discrimination or xenophobia. It shall address a political principle, which support democratic means within processes to redress inequalities and imbalances and engages with governmental structures. And not less importantly, it shall empower people to be ready to take responsibility for their own actions and embrace greater sense of citizenship.

Methods and processes for community development

An involvement of residents is a strong element for community to be able to progress. Community development is often described as placing equivalent emphasis on process and product. When addressing poverty, inequality and social exclusion it emphasizes the participation of those who are experiencing these problems, at all levels of intervention. The support as well of individual residents as organizations among residents is a fundamental way to reach the social aims of community. These aims are to reduce social exclusion or isolation by encouraging of social contacts and the social capital exchange. Through local social contacts and exchanges the residents can get more employment opportunities or education opportunities and receive some form of support.

Apart from these social objectives community development serves the purposes of public reform. Creating and strengthening of community knots and organizations provide a cell active in governance and help to legitimize policies. It is necessary to stand as a credible partner to consult and cooperate with authorities. Empowerment programs and community development have been known for involving citizens in multi-sector partnership programs within frameworks of area-based projects (Alcock, 2004, Goodlad et al., 2005).

In European countries the following methods of community development are used:

- ✓ Bringing the residents together via shared interest and experience, as community meetings, social events, advocacy, street festivals and parties or music and art activities
- ✓ Exploring and identifying the reasons and crucial factors for exclusion and marginalization through theater (by the excluded), story-dialogue, facilitation, group work, or conflict resolutions
- ✓ Building the vision of future- that means carrying out community-led research, including need analyses, focus groups and meetings
- ✓ Developing understanding and skills, thus the confidence in the actions, through community learning and education, encouragement, support and evaluation
- ✓ Organizing, mobilizing, networking in order to strengthen visibility, as strategic planning, formation, communication and alliance building
- ✓ Taking actions of various kinds, as campaigning, engaging with public and political bodies, lobbying, fundraising and similar

Desired outcomes- what kind of change happens through community development?

The principle outcome is to deliver lasting and actual change in the real experience of a community through participation of its residents, who themselves due to an analysis come to actions to address their own interests and needs. These outcomes are the results of the taken actions, while it is evident that it happened as a collective ambition sought by a community. The ambition shall be agreed and based on plan and strategies. Finally it expresses the priorities and values, which the community would like to present and impose.

The following requirements are necessary to achieve the lasting outcomes:

- ✓ Communities are the center and heart of the planning process for action of the change
- ✓ Communities themselves, its residents base these actions on analysis of their own concerns, experiences and interests
- ✓ Mainly the issues of social justice, respectively injustice and inequality are being addressed.
- ✓ Developing an approach that is participative, thus brings the community together, and establishes shared future vision
- ✓ The analysis must consider the interest and forces that can help or on the other hand hinder the desired achievement and invoke a strategy reflecting various ways of progression and selection of the utmost effective combinations.
- ✓ The goal of community development must be clear and accountable

The tasks of community development happen on various levels. Besides the community level, it concerns the structural and governance level as well. There is a connection among these levels, as the programs also have to look for initial reasons of consequent matters undertaken in communities.

The outcomes on the community level are the following:

- ✓ A physical change for better quality of life, as better access to services, employment, activities, places
- ✓ An improved community leadership- through involvement of more people in the community activities they become more critical, more conscious and confident. This leads to more organized and active communities

- ✓ The capacity of community being strengthened, it is able to negotiate and engage certain kind of power, become resilient and develop plan for community benefits
- ✓ The overall community experience is enriched, as problems are named and recognized, and consequently the goals are formulated
- ✓ Generally the sense of belonging is enhanced through common activities, mutual trust and solidarity becomes more natural, thus the community is inclusive and able to manage conflicts more efficiently, lay ground for entrepreneurial capacity to generate or attract funds.

The interference which aims to change mindsets or ideology may inform policies and legislation making and thus decision-makers and public institutions will become aware of problems in marginalized or minority groups. To those needs services and structures may respond more effectively. Frankly, it would reflect a fair sharing of power.

The outcomes on structural, policy and government level are following:

- ✓ Partnerships and networks are being formed of collective common interest.
- ✓ The community matters are immediately considered by decision-makers, on local level, but national or European as well
- ✓ Communities get support to control and design their own solution
- ✓ Transparency is more evident in decision-making processes
- ✓ Changes undertaken in marginalized communities might be evident in legislation on local, national or European level

2.2.1 Community participation and planning for social principles within community

Social planning may be defined as a planning for strengthening of social relations and circumstances within a community or a society, typically concerning urban objectives. Social planning can be explained as a way of satisfying aspirations and needs of communities and people in accordance to planned actions and policies that confirm the regional and urban planning and other planning and management processes. It is based on principles of social justice (access, equity, participation and democracy rights), and it attempts to enhance community well being, using processes which improve the effectiveness of community in order to accomplish grander lasting control over the conditions within the community (Menadue and Kerr, 2010).

The aspects of social inclusion and social justice are very crucial in what matters in community enhancement. As Menadue and Kerr (2010) imply, people who experience social exclusion within their environment gain profoundly from the effects of planning. These effects mostly come from exploit of planning against poverty, deprivation, low employment and income, lack of education, and incapacity of participation within a society. The reasons of social exclusion can be both of spatial or physical character. Such as poor housing, bad infrastructure or social boundaries as racial separation or class differentiation. Social planning works in favor of diminishing such boundaries.

Spatial separation is a dominant act of city development, notably since the 1970's and in recent decades (van Kempen, Marcuse, 2000). Both academic fields, of geography as well as sociology, recognized the patterns of social exclusion and segregation. Underprivileged or disadvantaged groups of society are excluded and thus eliminated in the regular participation. There are two ways to be identified in two extreme scenarios. First one is an exclusion of ghetto-wise separation, whereas on the other angle are the so-called gated communities of rich residents.

The explanations for social segregation in cities can be found in globalization tendencies, changing conditions of production, declination of welfare system and power redistribution and admittedly in technological development that, in general, influence vastly the social transformations. Competences of both authorities on global and local level are involved in formation of these changes as well as social change. With those changes are associated headings of political and economical structures, and so demographical changes in society. The social urban planning should react to the outcomes of these changes. The challenges to overcome in this area of planning are mostly related to social exclusion and community deprivation. The demands are to keep up the pace of urban transformations with the pace of fluid human activity, which is shaping the spatial forms of a city. This requires the cities to be not only aware and active but flexible and adaptable as well.

Preceding perception of community participation

Attention to participatory planning and notion of citizen's commitment and communicative approach appeared already in 1960's (Kaminer and Krivy, 2013). To encourage people to be involved in decision-making process in urban planning was popularized by very influential activists and town-planners as Jane Jacobs (1961) or Paul Barker (1969).

Participatory planning thrived mostly in late 1960's to 1980's. While in some countries participatory planning has stayed influential, in most of the European countries it has declined to level of public consultation (Wortham-Galvin, 2013, Kaminer a Krivy, 2013). With the proficiency of social networking and Internet spreading influences, as well as financial crisis of 2008-2009, the resident empowerment became more relevant again (Hansson et al., 2013, Wortham-Galvin, 2013, Stenberg,

2013). The platform for information sharing opened up new possibilities of communication and let the human resources and people's mobilization gain a new momentum. Additionally, the space for discussion has taken up in other dimensions.

There are two major differentiations between the early practices of 1960's and the ones of today. The first one is the scale of the projects. The tendency has shifted from large housing developments to smaller and low-budget interventions of public spaces. Secondly, the financing and funding has changed quite resolutely. The projects often start as self-supported grassroots initiations, and then if being successful the funding from municipality or other actors would get involved.

In the past the projects, which were aimed at citizens would had top-down approach. Arnstein (1969, *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*) classifies the citizen participation into eight levels, which gradually start from no impact of citizen to a level of full control of citizens in decision-making. She emphasizes the redistribution of power for those who possess less are excluded from economic and political processes, to be deliberately included in the future.

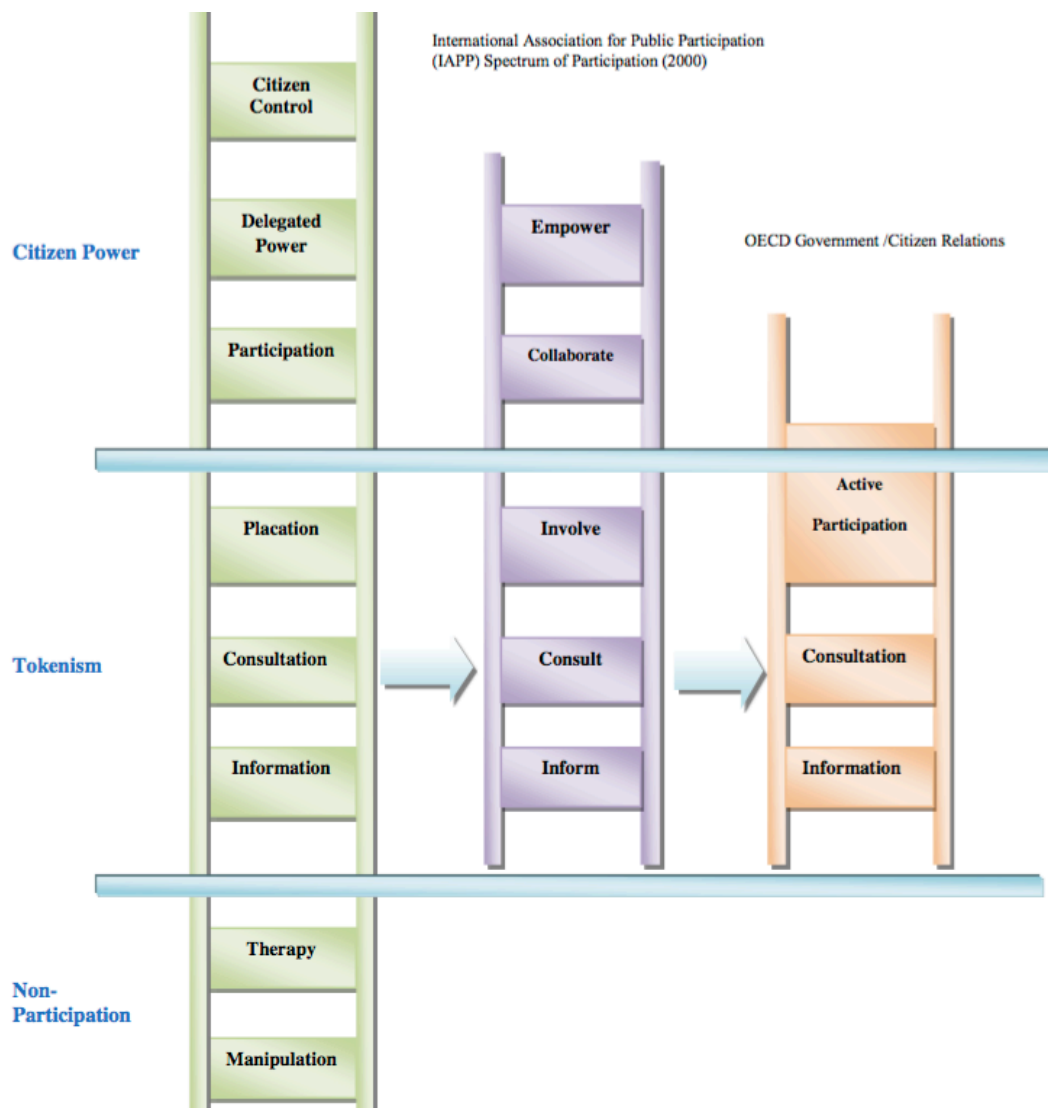


Figure 6. A Ladder of Citizen Participation with OECD contention (Redrafted from Original Representation by Prieto-Martin, 2008)

This eight-stage ladder classifies citizen participation through varying degrees of interaction from the lowest to the top labeled citizen power. This shows that within any group numerous different interests and opinions can be recognized across various structures. On this she based a statement that divisions between powerful elites, institutions and ordinary people can be fundamentally examined (Arnstein, 1969).

Continuing the base given by Arnstein (1969), the OECD (Organization of Economic and Cooperation and Development, 2002) and the IAPP (International Association for Public Participation, 2007) have reconfigured the structure to recall more contemporary perspective on participation of citizens. As the Figure 6 depicts, in the ladder of participation in line with OECD explanation, for the framework of citizen participation is basic to inform citizens of their options, rights and their responsibilities. In Arnstein informing stage, the familiar top-down process is rather notified. The dynamic allows the flow of information in both directions, where citizen can influence decision-making and have an opportunity to express his regards. The involvement and consultation are similarly prioritized to engage citizens effectively, or involved representative groups. Yet, the attempts to consult or involve in stage of tokenism are rather bizarre, if objective and fair balance of representation and accountability are not attained within any participative process (Arnstein 1969, OECD, 2002).

In all three ladders representations ‘active participation’, ‘empowerment’, ‘citizen control’, ‘collaboration’ and ‘partnership’, the primary indicators for redistributed power are between citizens and formal institutional structures. *“Citizen engagement through partnership is most effective when it is community orientated, with an organised power-base and structure, where community leaders are accountable and where adequate financial state resources exist to provide the necessary expertise in enabling citizens to engage with public officials on an equal basis”* (Fitzgerald, 2014, p. 16). Arnstein claims that people look for greater control, meaningful and open participative forums within a state-structured framework, and at the same time inclusive decision-making processes that address societal issues without any limiting or attached pre-conditions.

Hence many contemporary elaborations have adapted those ladders, such as democracy cube by Archon Fung, or engagement continuum by Crispin Butteriss, or International Association for Public Participation, which presents increasing level of public impact in Spectrum of public participation, depicted in the on the Figure 7.

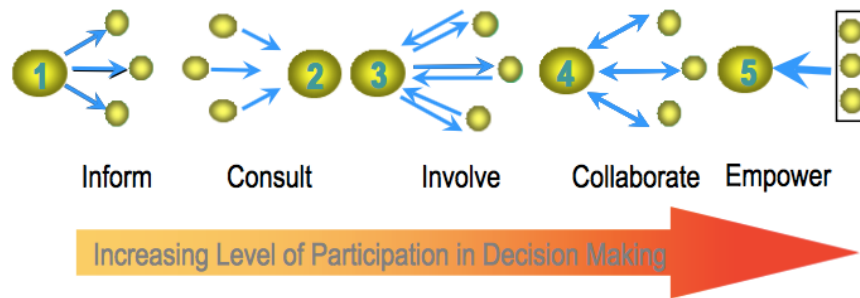


Figure 7. Understanding the levels of public participation: Spectrum of public participation (source: International Association for Public Participation IAP2, 2007)

The Figure 7 confirms the importance of knowing the level and input of public in the decision-making processes. It is crucial to clear up the individual roles of all involved parties. Similarly, one has to inform all involved parties about these roles and the goals throughout the project. Then it is possible, at the same time required, to match participation tools with the objectives of a project. In any given project a choice of likely required tools includes tools to inform, to generate input and tools to build a consensus and for agreement seeking.

2.2.2 Community informatics

For community to participate in planning and design community informatics is a major theme as well as informatics communication technology -mediated (ICT) participation. The use of community informatics is still quite rare in urban planning though, as stated by Gurstein (2007), community informatics means, to empower local inhabitants by applications of ICT's, and thus support processes of community development. It is a way also for stakeholders to be included in planning processes and engage in collaborative, deliberative and communicative principles of planning.

The term ICT participation and community informatics has a neutral concept, as it is not referring to any particular field of urban issues. On the other hand the term e-participation is very much linked to government in European jargon. The Figure 8 depicts the urban issues, which are addressing divers aspects of relation between technology and participation, as urban planning, governance, interaction design, information system and geography, community development and citizen activism.

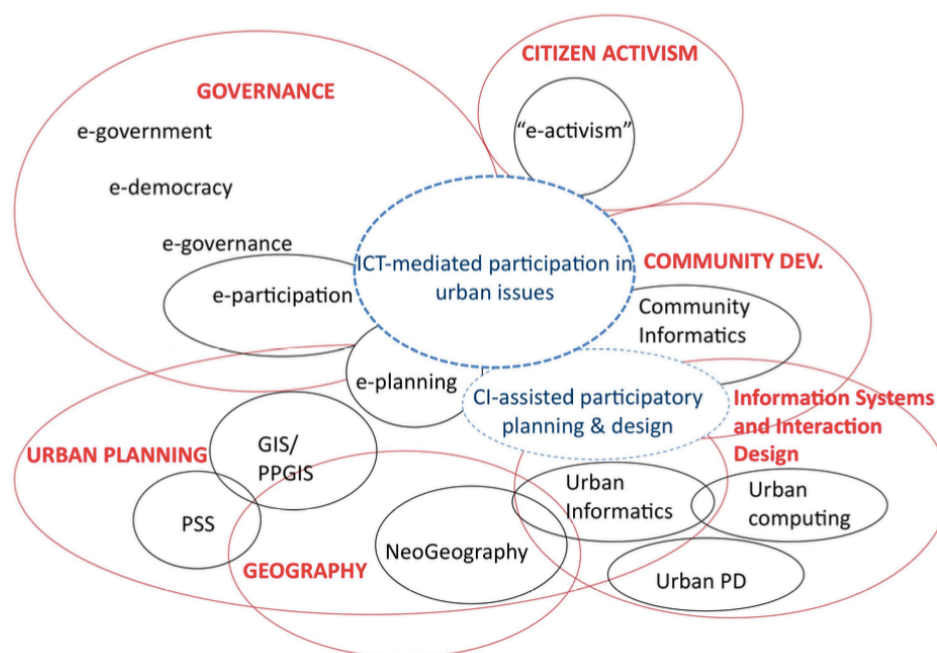


Figure 8. ICT-mediated citizen participation in urban issues (source: Saad Sulonen, 2010)

There are still many undefined or unclear terminology definitions. OECD (2002) interpreted as e-participation the e-governance and e-democracy. (This would be translated into applying as e-referendums, e-voting, e-petitions, e-initiatives, e-consultations, etc.) This kind of participation is categorically different as to participate on activation of urban life. Silva (2010) emphasizes in his handbook on e-planning the cooperation between ICT's and planning theories, he sees it as a shift to collaborative and participatory planning.

The outcomes are further going in Planning Support System and Geographic Information System, though the technologies for enhancement of citizens' participation have potential to develop in terms of public participation and interaction design (design according to inhabitants). Foth and Paulos et al. (2009) dwell on terminologies of urban informatics and urban computing to explore mundane tools and availability of devices to use for adaptation in urban context. This is the subject matter of Neo-geography, as well as cyber-activism and e-activism, in other words the use of informatic technologies for self-organized citizen activities.

The holistic approach should be applied in ICT-mediated participation as well. Since it offers fairly broad range of participatory processes and methods, which can be implanted in local governance and community development, as depicted on Figure 9.

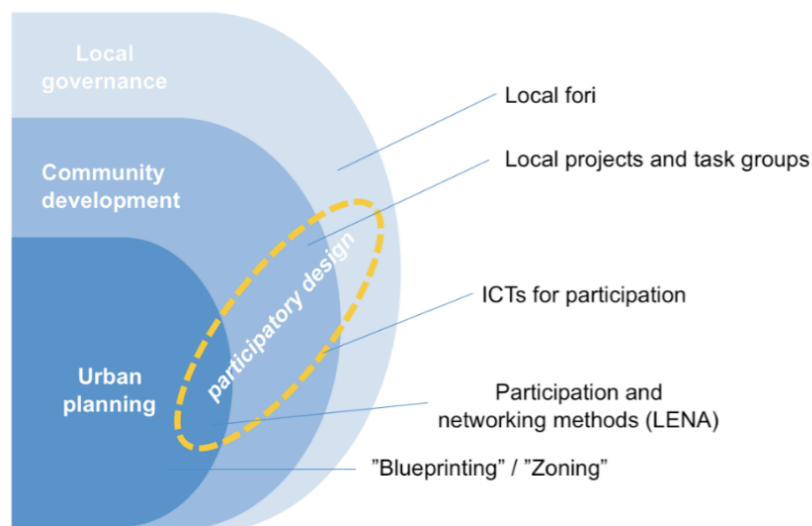


Figure 9. The participatory design acting bridging urban planning with community development and local governance through a variety of tools and methods (adapted from Horelli and Wallin, 2010).

Participatory design and planning in the context of Community Informatics

Gurstein (2007) addresses the connection of community informatics with self-management and self-organization in communities. It is not only the formal decision-making bodies, which form the management and authority of local governance, but the informal structures as well. As for example local projects and local formation add its deal of governing. Community Informatics set up conditions for socio-technical networks development, which involves implementation of planning, but not in constructing way, but through co-ordination and communication of community-based activities (Gurstein, 2008, Foth, 2009). This expanded view of planning focuses on user-sensitive service design, term presented by Horelli and Wallin (2010). On their Figure 8 of general participatory design approach, it is shown as bridging tool between community development, urban planning and local governance.

Those processes are part of co-formation of common urban spaces, public and communal services. Gurstein reflects these processes as being equally supporting the development as appropriating, repurposing and integrating existing technologies, of which their very design reflects the specific ontology of communities (2007). Lucy Suchman (1994) refers to this as to artful integration, specifically, as integration of hybrid system of different technical systems and different devices. Syrjänen and Karasti (2004) work with another term; artful infrastructure, or softening of barriers between maintenance, use and reuse, tailoring, and design. These explanations also propose the relevancy of Participatory design for Community Informatics (Rosson and Carroll, 2007).

Participatory urban planning includes also approach toward stakeholders' participation in the

planning processes. This perspective has been common since the 1960's, though not prevailing. With the twist in communication in the 1980's and the 1990's, participatory planning has grown into theoretical norm in many states (Healey, 1997). The participatory planning is a cycle of continual but different phases. They occur as following: initiation; design and planning; practice and implementation; research and evaluation; and lastly maintenance. The Figure 10 from Horelli (2002) displays tools enabling support of participator activities in each phase. During the phases the knowledge creation and transaction of stakeholders are enhanced through these tools. They classify as conceptual, expressive, diagnostic, political and organizational tools.

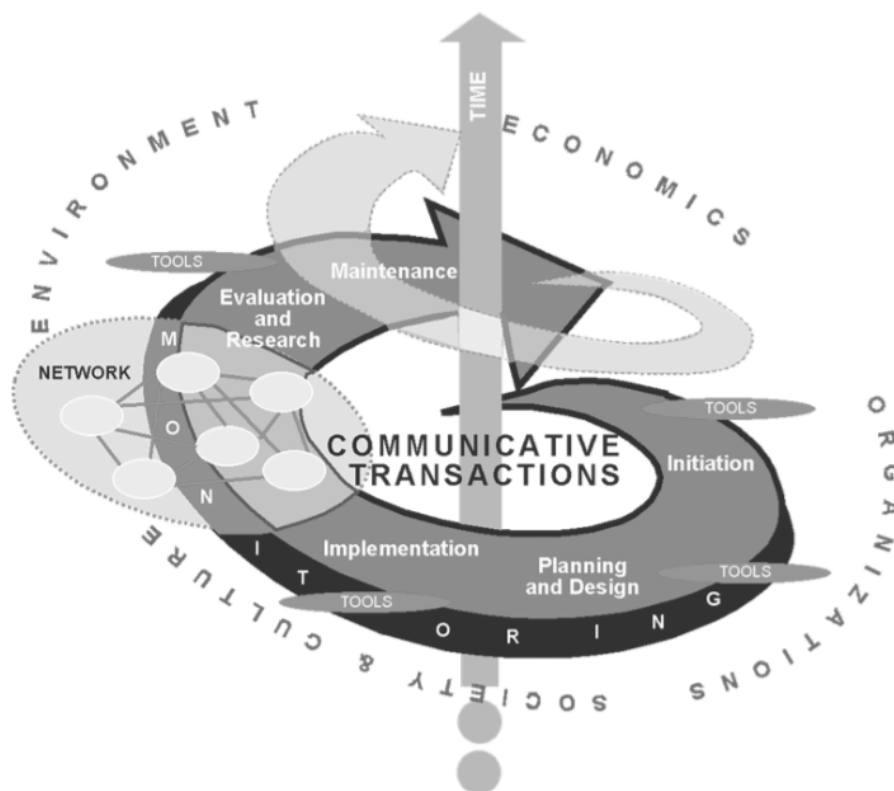


Figure 10. Schema of the methodological approach to participatory planning and design (source: Saad-Sulonen)

Participatory planning turns into e-planning when the activities of participants are not of face-to-face interaction anymore, but include ICT-mediated interaction, which is not dependent on temporal and spatial constraints. Participatory e-planning can likewise be defined as an ethical, political, and socio-cultural practice, when older and younger, men and women are involved in online and offline overlaying phases of decision-making processes of the planning (Wallin, Horelli, 2010).

Lena and Horelli (2006) introduced a specific form of participatory planning, which they call a learning-based network method of planning, especially community development. In this method the

central point is a cycle of learning and building of capacity for the involved stakeholders. Horelli explains that, if participation were proceeded as a continuous learning, the results would empower an individual and foster the confidence of participants in further action. That means that the learning process can be very much enhanced by ICT-tools, and further increase the understanding of the adaption and the use of them. This is especially beneficial for youth and children involvement. Here ICT-mediated tools undertake additional advantage. Involving young people in the participatory design (workshops, event, etc.) can bring new facts in collaborative planning, particularly the inclusion of people that might not be interactive by normal circumstances. The use of ICT-tools allows younger people to act as adequate member, instead of passive users or only consumers and offers a space for dialog between adults and youngsters. The role of community informatics is a strong impulse for collective behavior.

All in all, community informatics supports participatory planning in great measures, supports the holistic approach towards the awareness of the relation between technology and planning. It sets free from the presumption of OECD that technology involvement in planning imposes the top down democracy definition, using software solutions, as e-petitions, e-voting, etc., on the contrary, it gives force to collective and local bottom-up perspective. Yet, the political and socio-cultural processes of participation need to be enhanced by both ICT-tools and traditional means. None the less community informatics foster learning experiences, which is a significant contributor to community development. The recognition of relevant areas, which might be constructively tackled by ICT-mediated participation, is for all that definitely a matter of further progression.

2.2.3 Youth participation

Including the younger generation is vital in urban development in neighborhoods. It is a sign of healthy habitat that they don't feel marginalized or excluded from social and economic life. It is crucial to let them have opportunities to develop competences and skills, which would help them to fit in the labor market and find their place in a society as a whole.

To include youth in public policies means to involve young people in decisions and institutions that might influence their way of living. It requires young people themselves to be initiative and associate with issues that concern them, at the same time the adults need to engage them in policy proceeding of public agency, and together fill the need to cooperate in intergenerational policy partnerships (Checkoway, 1998). Young people have mobilized even on the national level for their civil rights and have expressed their participation in questions of educational reforms, youth services, affordable housing and on local level for environmental justice (Coleman and Ross, 2000).

Many studies have proven that it is effective for social development to give young people space for building up their practical skills, knowledge, social values and civic competencies. So they can prepare for their future role of an attentive citizen and later on actively engage in renewal and redefinition of civil society, particularly at places where civic participation has a declining tendency.

There is a double-sided approach of this matter. As young people naturally adopt their habits and attitudes from adults around them. It is also counterproductive when the adults almost automatically estimate the youngsters as troubled, what naturally weakens the sense of their role. It is important to include in development measures activities of youth and fulfill their needs, to make them feel incorporated. To let them identify issues, which matter to them, and participate in public policies by advising public officials.

The dialog between youth and authorities nowadays mostly happen through technology information communication, which is also very adequate way to win youth's attention. This topic is further described in Community Informatics section.

2.3 Social sustainability concept

The concept of sustainability was firstly developed in terms of insight narrowed to ecological perspective. This perspective was primarily focused on minimizing of energy use, resources use, pollution, and other ineligible effects on living environment. The early debate referred to this movement as 'sustainable city'. This concept was associated with waste management and recycling, greater use of alternative modes of transport and reduced car dependency, all in all to limit the so-called ecological footprint. More recently issues as cultural values, social cohesion, economic growth and stability, access to services, employment, health, education and overall wellbeing are becoming more relevant.

Urban development involves promoting social sustainability and it is widely assumed to be a matter for the public sector, more accurately for local authorities. It does not only applies to apparent authorities, but politicians, lobby groups, party networks, landowners, business interests and developers, as well as residents who take part in the governance framework. In reality it is difficult to assign to whomever of those has a duty to promote social issues. It is often considered a part of higher-level policies and hereby there are little concerns for social sustainability to be involved in urban development projects in detail.

Authors Polese and Stern (2000) have suggested to promote social sustainability in a way that would be generally helping to improve the quality of life and by that helping to foster an environment that is favorable for different social and cultural groups to cohabit.

Western industrialized cities have set an agenda for sustainability under principles of a compact city, which hints strong linkage between sustainability and urban forms. Dixon and Colantonio (2009) claim how *“individuals, communities and societies live with each other and set out to achieve the objectives of development models which they have chosen for themselves, also taking into account the physical boundaries of their places and planet earth as a whole”* (Dixon and Colantonio, 2009, p. 18).

Carina Weingaertner and Åsa Moberg (2011) had formulated a summary of aspects, which became common in social sustainability debate. It was made on a review of selected academics of urban sustainability literature. The authors, however mostly agree, that the analysis of main features and characteristics of social sustainability is rather constructive, than an attempt of a general definition.

These features are listed as following:

- ✓ Accessibility (access to open space, employment, services or resources and alike)
- ✓ Well-being and health
- ✓ Social networks and capital
- ✓ Social inclusion and cohesion (among and between different groups)
- ✓ Security and Safety (perceived and real)
- ✓ Fair distribution of employment and income
- ✓ Local participation, democracy and empowerment (community engagement)
- ✓ Training and education
- ✓ Cultural heritage (as listed buildings local heritage)
- ✓ Community Stability and Housing permanence
- ✓ Equity and Equality

- ✓ Social Justice
- ✓ Movement and connectivity (use and choice of mode of transport, walkability)
- ✓ Mixed use and tenancy
- ✓ Sense of belonging and sense of place
- ✓ Attractive public realm and liveability
- ✓ Environmental quality
- ✓ Amenities and facilities

2.3.1 Social impact assessment

Social impact assessment is a tool for better decision-making and defining factors influencing the urban planning, as quality of housing, local services, living environment, conditions of transportation, gentrification or segregation, etc.

This is a very variable line of actions, from situation to situation, according to dynamics and social relation of a given condition and its processes. Vanclay (2002) distinguishes the difference between social change and social impact. He states that an individual, household or family, society or a community, must experience the actual impact, whether in perceptual or corporeal terms. Social impact is socially composed in large measures; they are recognized and perceived differently by different party or individual, due to their own comprehension of what is natural or normal, and what is expected. On the other hand social change is a process that may start from experiences of these impacts in given circumstances, related to the social context (religions, nations, groups, etc.). According to him, social change results from direct effects, as population growth or decline, unemployment, economic change, and other. Whereas social impact refers to what is resulting from these social changes, as need of new school, day care institutions, changes of lifestyle. In order to establish correct social impact assessment, a detailed and comprehensive analysis is necessary. Initially, the character of the social change is determining, as well as the character of the community, where the project will take place. For instance, the processes are significantly different if it as a project in a new coming area, or in an old city central part, urban brownfields or waterfronts, or other specific area, as industrial or shopping area. Number of theoretical frameworks, concepts and investigation undertakings are required to find the suitable option and solution.

The methodology for social impact assessment must favor a pluralistic approach, which uses both, quantitative and qualitative analysis (Sarinen, 2004).

In public debate of assessment studies, it has been argued, that planning can benefit greatly from social impact assessment. It can provide systematic analysis, with demanded data, the social conditions and impacts, as social and biophysical linkages, tools for better management, urban growth, quality development and lead to social sustainability.

Social impact assessment is closely related to environmental impact assessment. Both are fairly new policies, which have started to come into force by the end of the 20th century. The above-mentioned actualities have brought interest of political support for social impact assessment to develop in urban planning. In 1990's they have become imperatives and constituent of sustainable development, in a number of countries. They are both part of the so-called strategic assessment tools.

Based on the several social impact assessment researchers and practitioners, one can identify featuring characteristics of the social impact assessment processes. Dietz (1987) and Burdge (1998) named them as following:

- ✓ Social impact assessment is pertinent to environmental impact assessment
- ✓ It is a tool for searching for alternatives and determining the consequences for each alternative
- ✓ It is done during the planning phase in order to offer better knowledge for base of the decision-making processes
- ✓ It is a tool for developing compensation, adaptation, or mitigation measures for potential harmful social impacts

The implantation of social impact assessment had been pioneered in the Finnish urban planning. It was for the first time in the world, so the Finnish planners had set the example for other countries. There had been set five main principles for organizing social impact assessment (Mäkäräinen, 2003):

- ✓ It must be an accepted part of planning processes and practices of health and social center
- ✓ The basic data on social conditions of the planning must be considered
- ✓ A special assessing form is an advised help for the assessment

- ✓ The risks and possibilities concerning implementation of the plan must be presented already throughout the preparation
- ✓ The extent of the assessment and the need for examination is separated in each plan

Integration of social impact assessment into planning process

The literature presents a fair amount of checklists and possible impact categories. They can serve in various stages of the assessment and planning processes. Burdge (2004) is giving one of the most known checklists and guidelines for implementation. He arranged 26 variables in categories of social impacts, institutional/community arrangements, conflicts between local residents and newcomers, individual or group impacts, infrastructure needs, and other.

This guide is proposing ways from as basic as visits to concerned locations, through negative and positive side effects, to answer the questions like, what will change, into what results, what will be gained or lost, who will benefit or be deprived. Underlying, that social impacts are social goals of the plan. The Figure 11 displays consistent method of assessment toward planning process.

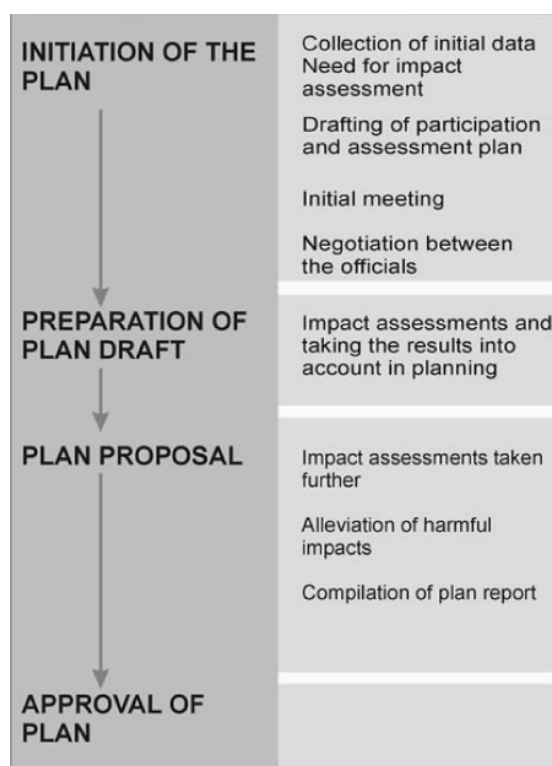


Figure 11. The integration of impact assessment into planning processes. (source: Rauno Sairinen, 2004).

2.4 Perception of public urban space in literature over last decades

The diversity in urban life is reflected in diversity of academic interpretations and explanations of urban life throughout the whole 20th century. This section presents academic arguments of last decades.

The question of human behavior in dimensions of planning has been in discourse since early 1970's in many aspects. The influence of design on behavior has become a pertinent study subject. Social impact is one of the keystones of sustainable development in communities. Although Sommer (1969) in his practice claims to look at buildings without people in them, the opposite is clear. From garden Cities of Tomorrow by Howard, through Ville Contemporaine and La Ville Radieuse by Corbusier, to Streets in the sky by Smithsons, it shows true recognition that the way people live is directly linked to the designed environments where they live. The links between built environment and its design with our behavior are both individual and social. Whether there is a direct intention to influence the behavior in the design process, or whether it is from the other end, that behavioral consequences only appear in design decision as a study result of social scientist and psychologists, it is undeniable. It is often the very act of social interaction, which is an explicit intention of designers. To direct people for social strategies reason, or more accurately to provide them a particular experience, which should direct them.

Urban planning has been dominating in the master plan proposition profoundly. The primer focus of the last century has been the functionality of the cities and towns. In this way the realization of projects made them a kind of machines for living. But based often on utopias and unrealistic ideas, they happened to cause failure and did not lead to the appointed goal.

Since 1980's, the public debate arises the importance of public space as a dominant factor of planning discipline. Western scholars as Jane Jacobs, Lewis Mumford, E. F. Schumacher, Paul Davidoff, Allan Jacobs, Christopher Alexander and Donald Appleyard emphasized the meaning of public space (Shidan and Qian, 2011). They recognized the influence of public space on quality of life and its range of possibilities to use it for recreational, social and interactions. Additionally, it enhances the urban image and supports economic development. But, a considered conception is essential for a successful public space, which create livable functioning environment. The above listed academics promoted smaller-scale planning strategies. The planning of the 20th century was often for too big of a scale, where permanency was not desirable, as it was considered a time of constant change.

Sitte (1889) implies the function of physical environment, which reveals its culture. He recognizes this function particularly in public spaces and plazas in Rome and classical Greece, and in

medieval and Renaissance Europe. In those times the forums of Roman Empire, and agoras of ancient Greece, were used for public purposes, to host events and meetings, in order to offer places of communication between people and the authorities. The places were lively and attracting people because of religious and public buildings in surroundings of these squares. At the same time the aesthetic aspect of those places was not set aside.

Perry (1929) claimed, in period of car domination, that for a residential community is essential to compound education and culture. Wide streets should be creating barriers, with enough greenery and recreational spaces. Public buildings should come together and side by side with shopping areas. Streets should be based on the traffic requirements, and not bring people to just pass through.

Lynch (1960) accentuates the importance of perceptions of the city inhabitants themselves. The environment should reflect the complex society and their individuals, their historical traditions, their inspirations, their natural settings, and the movements and complicated functions of cities.

Whyte (1980) dwells on the importance of active usage of public space, which determines whether it has quality or not. Through observation, of how is the public space used and how often, he presumes, that the number of sitting places is more important than form or expanse of space. Besides, the occurrence of more women adds on popularity of a space.

Appleyard and Jacobs (1987) point out the importance of good city design, when good quality urban environment enables people to live comfortably, with sense of belonging, with choice of jobs and housing possibilities, allowing community participation, embrace different cultures, and thus be aware and identified with their city and its opportunities. Beside that the city shall be sustainable in resources and energy, and create environment where rich and poor represent equal importance. They define these five main physical features: mixture of uses, minimum intensity and density, arrangement of buildings, so that they relate to each other and to the neighborhood itself.

The theory according to Gehl (2010) takes stand on humanistic planning principles. He puts emphasis on everyday life outdoor activities. He claims, an inviting environment tempts people to practice optional outdoor activities. He emphasizes highly the attractiveness of space in order to be used.

In all these interpretations, whether emphasizing aesthetics, communication in neighborhood, analysis of behaviors, they all have in common the importance and sensitive apperception of human needs.

3. NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE AND HOUSING CONTEXT

The buildings people live in have a significant and an immediate effect on their mental and physical well-being. Housing is an essential part of the way we live, thus defines the neighborhood perception principally. It meets the basic human needs, primarily providing us a shelter to protect us from the physical point of view. Other than that, it is also what protects us from the outer world, giving us haven, resources, background. This is what enables us to shape our habits, our culture, the living environment, and thus our evolvement. Housing goes hand and hand with our health, as physical, as mental. Many aspects of housing issues articulate with sustainability concerns. Those principles attempt to design socially, environmentally and economically vital conditions of housing (in this case), forming communities, where social realization is feasible.

Housing satisfaction plays a determining role for the quality of life and perception of the neighborhood. The perception of the environment's safety has a lasting impact on a neighborhood's reputation and on the mindset of its residents. In a society where the major role is represented by property and material possessions, cars, shopping centers, and business achievements, the public component of our lives is disappearing. The aim for cities to be inviting and pleasant for citizen's interactions is therefore apparent.

Housing is a decisive factor for social cohesion, determining the access to realization of fundamental social and human rights. It exemplifies some of the main expenditures in European households. People are not only to face the obstacles to find affordable and decent home on the housing market, but to balance the spatial integration with environmental request, and by the means of urban and social infrastructure lessen existing adversities and enhance social cohesion.

The deprived urban areas of European cities (more in western Europe) appear to have very similar matters to deal with. Usually the desired improvement is in the state of the housing areas, built environment and strategies for social transformation. Housing is used in these strategies to change the conformation of an area's population respecting the ethnicity or class. It relates to objectives of social mixing, to reduce negative consequences caused by negative socialization, reaction to stigmatization or by insufficient local social networking.

In the development processes and renewal of housing the role of local managers has been noticed before. Even though their power is limited and they do not always have sufficient space to control and deliver the change they try to pursue.

When distinguishing housing conditions for social transformation strategies, the level of control is variable. Firstly, the control can be changing housing tenure structure through intention to transform

social composition. In this way local managers have higher level of control over spatial planning transformation and over the resulting amount of housing for lower and middle class households. Secondly, the strategies may rely more on physical interventions, and new kinds of amenities, which shall attract the middle class household. These processes are set to change the population of an area, as also, for example, gentrification does. Whereas, in the first strategy the original tenure composition prevails, as demolition or displacement are limited. Moreover, this strategy allows less control over the expansion of neighborhood transformation and spatial planning.

The level for manager's capacity to control the social change likely relates to housing context. The kind of social transformation and the strategy adapted in whichever given case varies greatly according to different housing contexts.

3.1 Conceptualizing neighborhood change

Neighborhood change is defined as "*encompassing a variety of objectively measurable changes to a neighborhood's physical and social environment*" (Rohe & Tempkin, 1996, p. 159). The change is a result of different factors, which need to be conceptualized in a complex way. Conceptualization of the change is an important step, in order to recognize these factors, and how they interplay between each other, before seeing the result of these separately.

It is presently known that cities are naturally divided into different sorts of areas. With these divisions come constant neighborhood changes of its structures and functions. What is an uncharacterized matter is the way the change happens and the causes it may have. Generally, particularly in last decades, the main cause is considered the globalization. Van Kempen (2007) states the authors of the 2000's like Sassen, Castells and Taylor had explained urban change be driven by globalization processes, as well as authors like Wilkinson and Paul Jenkins had seen globalization as an decisive determinant of urban change.

Changes and inconstancy of neighborhood constitution is a natural reality. The various kinds of typologies have been occurring in the last century. A common course of action within neighborhoods is for various types of groups of people to cluster, and thus cause segregation. For instance, racial or ethnic groups may create slums or ghettos; low-income households are forced to move out, because the site they live at may undergo transformation to attractive expensive area, in order to attract high-income households; or contrarily, from appealing areas become ghettos.

To each of those areas – neighborhoods appertain certain functions, styles, attractions and disadvantages or advantages. One can see often classification by dichotomy in those typologies; between areas with lower and higher income, thus people who choose where to live freely, and people who can't afford opportunities like this and are somehow forced to accept where they live; between deprived, impoverished areas and prosperous ones.

These cities are called and described obviously as divided (Harloe, Gordon, Fainstein, 1992). Other authors call it other terms as polarized or fragmented cities (Burgers, 2002). Castells and Mollenkopf refer to them as dual cities (Castells, Mollenkopf, 1991), and partitioned is reference mentioned by van Kempen (van Kempen, 2002). They reviewed a relation between divided city and divided society, which is showing a clear connection. The correlation is simple as, if society is divided; the urban space follows the division. It is a matter of coherence on one hand between social inequality and social polarization and on the other hand between social segregation and social polarization (Hamnett, 1994).

3.1.1 Traditional approaches

According to three different schools one can distinguish three traditional perspectives on the concept underneath the changes in the neighborhoods. First is human ecological approach, which dwells on economic competition in urban locations concerning various social groups. Second is a subcultural approach. It scrutinizes potential instability, which can occur despite functioning economy. It focuses on a strong neighborhood attachment. In the third, the political economy approach, the transformation of a neighborhood is explained from a broader social and economic point of view. In the following divided paragraphs these three schools will be described separately.

In all those three approaches one can find a lack of consideration of following points; indifference of external and internal forces, lack of importance given to the neighborhood change, neglect of various geographical scales, and not sufficient consideration of variation processes as gentrification and regeneration (Beauregard, 1990, Engels, 1999).

Neighborhoods are very complex organisms of multiple interests; one can't simplify the conceptualization of neighborhood's change emphasizing only a single causal force. These schools explain the neighborhood change over social, economical, and physical factors individually, in spite of considering all these three factors together. There was a long-lasting debate on the contribution to the changes either by social or economical or physical factors, instead of looking at the interlock of all these factors.

Further, a view from inside and outside must be perceived. The subcultural school centers the forces mainly within the neighborhood, thus residents themselves. On the other hand the political-

economical school centers the forces from outside. It sees as the main contributors to neighborhood gentrification and regeneration financial institutions, governments or real estate agents. The inner forces play a crucial role on social dynamics of neighborhood and can assist or resist greatly to changing. The willingness and their commitment will determine in a significant measure the stability of an area. But at the same time, the conditions of local housing market, the flow of finances, mortgage, insurance, and other larger political and economic factors matter as greatly as well. The institutional context may support the neighborhood progress, or on the other hand constrain the progress, and therefore cause decline.

Analysis and inquiry must be made on multi-geographical level, reflecting macro and micro dynamics. Since a single neighborhood does not have autonomy, it must be considered under affection of citywide context. Furthermore, people do not move into a neighborhood merely for the neighborhood, but consider a city as well. The characteristics of a city, as quality of life, number and variety of facilities, quality of public schools, job opportunities, matter and influence the choice of a neighborhood too.

Last but definitely not least; the processes of neighborhood gentrification or generation do not follow the same line. Naturally, these processes vary in great measures. Not considering all the above-mentioned influences, they are often interpreted with one of a kind course of action. Berry (1985) acknowledging the variations, describes the process of change in three stages. The First one is on a small scale, with involvement of private capital and no external actors. The Second one gets attention of public participants, and thus attracts external actors. In stage three, he says; too many external actors are involved, what leads to high demand of living followed by displacement.

Ecological school approach

Ecological school is one of the oldest that have been studying the neighborhood change. The conceptualization of the neighborhood change are based on Chicago school propositions and its scholars as, Hoyt and Burgess, who argues that the declination of a neighborhood is caused by physical downgrading. The association with Chicago school comes from its structural analysis of the neighborhood change, the collateral processes of concentration and spatial segregation, and the phenomena of residential differentiation. The downgrading is an effect of dwelling aging, as the old housing requires higher maintenance and higher costs, the competition with newly built housing leads to depreciation and physical decline of the old ones.

Wirth (1944) and Jones (1960) criticized the human ecology formulation for being derived from biological model, instead of being based on social and cultural processes. Social ecologists did not pay

enough attention to neighborhood change incidence. Hollingshead (1947) considers their explanations insufficient and not acquainted with empirical research entailing the social action. As the ecological approach is mostly linked with Chicago school, the ideas were mostly American. They were developed under a system of a specific period with free market economy, when terms of housing subsidies and social security were not common. The role of the state was generally marginal. Simultaneously, human ecology approach implicates some crucial concepts, as divided cities cannot be interpreted without the notion of invasion concepts, filtering and succession. Lastly, to theorize the base of this approach, the subject would be “human economical”, meaning well-informed individual, who is capable of economical and rational behavior (van Kempen and Bolt, 1997).

Subcultural school approach

The scholars of subcultural school appoint behavioral approach and give reason to social factors for a neighborhood change. They presume that neighborhoods have an unlimited life span, as it can be renewed repeatedly. It means that when the social downgrading is prevented, neighborhoods may restrain the decline. The scholars ascertain, that the transformation of a neighborhood is in the hands of its residents, as they are the ones who can decide if they move out, or stay and try to improve it. They see the residents as the internal force, the ones who should act in active organizations and react to neighborhood modification. The development and shifts in the housing field are directly linked to events and points in the family life circle, and then household characteristics are the dominants of housing preferences (Clark, Duerloo and Dieleman, 1997, Adams and Gilder, 1976).

In other literature one finds a simple summarization: “*A high social capital may regenerate a neighborhood*” (Temkin & Rohe, 1996, van Beckhoven et al., 2009, p. 33).

Political-economy school approach

The political-economy school argues that the causal force behind neighborhood change is the accumulation of capital by powerful elites or ‘growth machines’ (van Beckhoven et.al., 2009, Logan & Molotch, 2007). This means that the neighborhood change-decline is not caused by aging housing stock, but by an impact of powerful external forces, or by shakeup of economic conditions. Hence, a neighborhood may be regenerated, if it is able to offer potential operation for powerful elites and the other way round, if a neighborhood is not able to carry into effect the powerful elites, it will further decline. The role of agents is highly accentuated in this approach.

3.2 Role of housing in neighborhood transformation

The housing context is one of the elements that affect the transformation and the strategies for transformation in a neighborhood. It plays a role in decision-making processes among policy actors, but as well in concrete objectives as constraints and experiences. It can provide foundation for collective actions; assign formal rules (for example of regime) or social rules. The belief system is shaping the institutional thinking, which articulates strategic action (Salet, 2000). To be more exact, the structures of housing context shape the actor's framework and the distribution of power among them, the formal regulations and rules. The structures necessarily accord with the objectives of regeneration, but consider of financial constraints, bureaucracy and investment risk as well.

Within the housing context two variants of institutional basis can be discerned: policy framework and housing market. These two sections can either offer local managers support for strategic action plan or on the other hand, restrict it. It is determining for profiling of social transformation strategies, as seen on the Figure 12. The amount of control that local managers have over this social transformation and regeneration is also determined by these two components. It is important to note, that even though they appear separately, they are not strictly independent. This is shown in a situation, when housing policy regulates the structures of ownership and thereby the operating of the housing market.

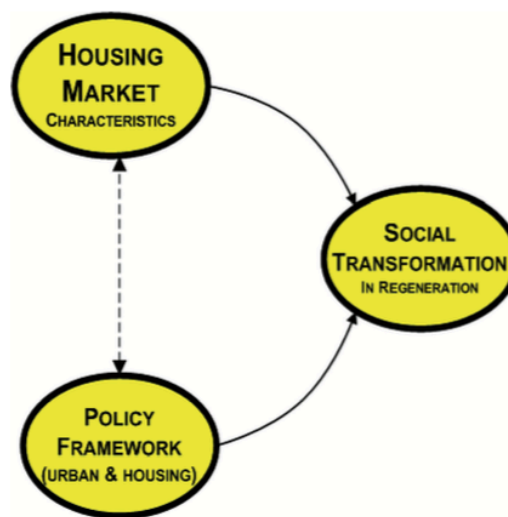


Figure 12. Housing context of social transformation strategies

Housing market

Renewal of housing is one of the ways to make an area more attractive and carry out a process of neighborhood regeneration. As referred before, this may also be acquired by changing the social

characteristics of a space through effects of social transformation. This shows that social transformation is likely affected by housing market conditions and housing space, and thus not only at local level, but at regional as well. Housing market conditions are dependable also on the tenure structure and also on the performance and reliability of housing market. Hence the relation of social strategies and housing reflects this correlation as well. In addition, the tenure structure is important in what relates to ownership structure, on which rely the responsibilities and managing of housing units, as well as if it is a private or a public association. If owners live in the units themselves, the residents are the responsible, which plays a crucial role in transformation strategies.

The housing market conditions are a possible way to attract middle-class residents. Area-based regeneration usually target market with low rank status. Low demand in regional market and quantitative oversupply can increase the chance for unattractive neighborhoods to become vacant. On contrary, a high regional demand usually generates low demand neighborhoods to have a higher investment potential for homeowners and developers. This means that, regions with low demand housing may still allure investment potential, when a sudden emerging demand is not covered elsewhere (Aalbers et al., 2003). This signifies that, the situation in regional housing market has impact on regeneration in neighborhoods with low demand, because it was determined to be potentially profitable and investment-worthy.

3.2.1 Attention to social housing within neighborhood planning

Definition of European social housing and its role is difficult to clarify. It ranges from providers, subsidies across rent setting and recipients. The Netherlands and Sweden have a traditional open-to-all approach, combined with strict control in private renting, whilst others target the low-income groups, or groups of special needs. Sources of subsidy vary from land subventions, direct ones for buildings, non-profit tax breaks, cross-tenant and public rent subsidies, to loan guarantees. The policies for rent setting also vary highly based on account balancing, historic loan costs or on the percentage of market rents (Palvarini and Braga, 2013).

Though not many countries have particularly advanced sectors of social housing, as the views on its benefits and costs differ widely (Scanlon and Whitehead, 2007). The differences are derived from historical indicators, when building of social houses was purposely favored in decades after the world wars, in some Northwestern European countries and in particular by the governments within the cities.

The largest segment of social housing is in the Netherlands (It is over 30% of all housing). Approximately one fifth of housing are tenure households in the UK and in Austria. In Finland,

Sweden, Denmark and France is about 15% or more. In central European countries under communism weight large stocks were built up, but then later on were sold off. Although, couple of other, Poland including still remain publicly owned, but commonly as very deprived properties (Sunega and Lux, 2014).

The debating questions of social housing are the benefits and its effectiveness. Ones say that it is a way to ensure good quality of low cost housing and thus to social integration and reengagement of people into work. Others acclaim the no profit nature of the providers. In favor of social housing is urban regenerations proposing hybrid tenures, with intermediate mixes of renting and owning. Social housing has not been a stable commodity of housing market. Because of demolitions and frequent sales social housing has recorded declines for several decades. Conversely, in some countries the tenure is a major supplier of homes, especially of rental properties (Pawson, Milligan and Lawson, 2011). On the other hand social housing is criticized for being poorly targeted and too costly. Questionable are also the overall benefits, which tend to be self-referential and unreliable. Another negative review is a potential risk of spatial segregation of any minorities, as ethnic or migrants, or other. There is an evidence of higher unemployment rates within working age tenants than is noted by other households.

Issues of principal-agent as strong lobbies, probity or limited scrutiny of the efficiency under conditions close to monopoly acting are limits for embracing best practice of social housing. The cost efficiency is also not always a win situation. For example in the 1980s in Germany a number of scandals led to disenchantment, and in the Netherlands, the largest social housing provider, had lost over two billion euros in 2012 in a credit swap deal.

4. URBAN CHANGES IN NEIGHBORHOOD reflected in social changes

Typically the main objective of programs for social development is the question of unemployment of the targeted neighborhoods or districts. Unemployment is often seen as the cause of other problems in social sphere, as crime, lack of integration, and similar. Even though employment is a crucial determinant of satisfaction, it is not necessarily always the most important one. The cause of a social exclusion might even be an employment, when people are stuck in dead-end jobs, with no future perspective in them. Other than labor market exclusion, it can be identified as exclusion in the sphere of collective arrangements, as health insurance, entitlement to rent subsidies or unemployment benefits, changes in lifestyle or demography.

Urban development programs are often oriented on issues of social exclusion regarding the employment. Various form of social pathology are easily mistakenly linked to unemployment. Social exclusion is dominating in deprived areas, where social networks and forms are very determining, and lead to social isolation. Another matter causing social disadvantage can be family conditions, as one-parent household, or a household with small children. Policies shall pay equal attention to proposing social networks and support, including subsidies for kindergarten, childcare, help in education. Notion of safety is yet another crucial factor in social network functioning and crime reduction is an important asset for more sustainable urban renewal. Crime rates again are mostly associated with unemployment problems, but crime can be a part of continual economical growth. The money earned by drug dealing or trafficking can undoubtedly exceed the earnings from available proper jobs (Wikström, 2013). Solutions shall be found as efficiently as possible for different forms of social integration and desirably simultaneously.

4.1 Social urban change

“The idealistic vision that policy makers and urban planners are striving towards is characterized by a compact and diverse city that enhances spontaneous meetings and sustainable lifestyles” (Wikström, 2013 p. 39).

Relationships, human needs and quality of life conclude the key aspects of social planning, which aims to put them into a spatial and physical relation. Adaptation and resilience approach has become a necessity in planning activities, as the rapid transformation causes crisis of many kinds. These changes affect the citizens of the majority of cities around the globe, with impacts on the environment, economy and communities. Menadue and Kerr (2010) emphasize that these impacts are

acting upon people differently, but are most devastating on those who are already dealing with disadvantaged conditions and marginalization within society.

The patterns and characterization of society is viewed and observed differently today than in the past. Various social, cultural, economic and political forces have transformed the western societies during the last century, shifting to 'post-society', what is normatively a label for the post-Fordistic, postmodern and postindustrial cities (Haila and Bearegard 2000). Post-Fordism in urban debate refers to demand of new urban space reacting to disorganized form of capital accumulation. (In contrary to Fordism – phase of organized capitalism, characterized by large scale development.) These transformations concern also divergent spatial patterns: manufacturing-based patterns versus service-adapted patterns, and traditional and peripheral patterns versus edge city and central pattern (van Kempen and Marcuse, 2000). This indicates that today the cities are becoming “radically altered” in the sense of their complexity, scope and scale. Georgantzas (2012) refers to what he calls a “modern temporality”, defining the increasingly appearing condition of fear and anxiousness, which are viewed upon these unknown societal transformations and changes. He states that it is created due to constant transformation between and within economical, societal, political and educational systems. Rotman and de Haan (2011) settle these theories by saying that such fundamental changes and disruption have always been an issue within a society, and there is no assumption it would not continue so. That is why they stress the societal transitions and the importance of readiness and reaction towards them and the importance of further understanding their influences and functions. To help to do so van Kempen and Marcuse (2000) have identified a number of factors, which create these transitions and shape the societies:

- >> The globalization and its unclear impacts
- >> Patterns of demographic developments and migration
- >> Racism and ethnicity
- >> The changing patterns of choice
- >> Public sector and its changing role

In a nutshell these authors state that social transitions and changes are commonly caused by development befalling on higher spatial level than local. This can be regional level, national or even global (van Kempen, Marcuse, 2000). A couple of examples of these migration and demographical changes, as well as transforming urban processes are urbanization, suburbanization, de-suburbanization and re-urbanization, caused by economic opportunities or urban development.

The notion of race is more commonly used in US context, but the racist attitudes within European communities are not an exception. According to van Kempen and Marcuse (2000) the changing role of

public sector has had a comparable impact on the society. It is shown in the example of social housing and its decreasing subsidies, which had resulted in a negative approach on urban neighborhoods and followed by the increase of deprived and poor areas in cities. The last factor ‘changing pattern of choice’, has great impact in the society, even though it may seem little negligible in comparison to the others. These patterns are signifying the lifestyles shifts, which can appear also globally. They are characterized by individuality, flexibility and increased freedom, and differ from traditional dwelling standards, family and work habits. The lifestyle choices are mainly privileged in developed societies (in western and northern, in case of Europe) and within upper and middle class. Low-income groups are consequently affected by decline in choices and opportunities, due to the limitations of “being stuck” in economical and political structures. This exemplifies a case of bad resilience creates a trap for the already weak and vulnerable communities and leads to social exclusion.

Urban social change: spatial form and human activity

According to Haila and Beauregard (2000), the postmodern urban theory declares that the contemporary cities will be facing a new spatial and urban form. Cities are portrayed as portioned and fragmented, and shaped by global influence and forces. Clearly the global forces are significant and recognizable, but it is not easy to predict the outcomes following them. The authors present two reasons to explain. The first one is the simultaneous occurrence of new and old processes, which can lead to perplexity in urban space, when it is not able to adapt and synchronize the designing of these spaces with planning. The second one is that many stakeholders and actors are involved and thus act on various levels and scales. The controlling mechanisms of the built environment are various, spatial form is interconnected with a number of important social, political and economical structures within society, and influence the city on both higher and local spatial level (van Kempen and Marcuse 2000). Societal and human forces and activities thus play vital role in shaping the cities.

Urban forms tend to change slower than the social changes come into being, as economic and political practices or social relations (Haila and Beauregard 2000). It is important to incorporate more the time dimension when regenerating and developing urban space. It requires including lessons and deficiencies from the past, while considering problems of the present and bearing in mind the aims for the future. Past investments and trends as well as social commitments affect the progression of social change; what becomes even more essential when dealing with challenges of social planning.

4.2 Challenge of change

The neighborhood regeneration aims to acquire social change at societal and local level simultaneously. The common regeneration goals are renewal of public space and housing, as well as a set of social and economical programs. These interventions aim to improve space physically, including improvement of social, cultural and economical distress for an individual. In territorial focus to tackle social problems, generally, there are three common ambitions for social change; socio-economic integration (respectively exclusion) and deprivation, and liveability issues. The policies at local level for social change relating to satisfaction of residents are aimed on dwelling and neighborhood conditions. This area of focus comes down to issues of liveability, which is an important feature of neighborhood regeneration. The quality of public space and safety have long been considered the pillar of neighborhood regeneration policies. Truly, in cases of place-based matter, specific to a given area, or a certain type of neighborhood, a targeted approach might be required. An example for area-based interventions can be environmental pollution, deterioration of a certain age-type of housing or traffic irritation. Housing conditions are one of the most crucial for neighborhood satisfaction and positive perception of a neighborhood from their residents.

The neighborhood regeneration deals with the social change also beyond the local level. The social economic deprivation and poverty, or social exclusion, are an important subject of neighborhood regeneration, particularly when examining the objectives of regeneration. A lot of financial, political and symbolic capital is spent in those fields. Undeniably a target neighborhood for regeneration typically deals with unemployment, poverty or insufficient education. However it is implicit that local resident would profit, the reasoning for the state to be selective in social assistance is based on intention to overcome social divisions within society. Those divisions spatially articulated in a physical bearing of neighborhoods. However, to assume this is very questionable, because generally, the policies fail to identify the neighborhoods effects and mechanism. Furthermore, it is a subject of an ongoing academic debate. The incidence of negative effects in deprived neighborhoods is therefore not an out of consideration topic. The evidence for reproduction of socio-economic deprivation is insufficient to guarantee territorial focus through larger scale meddling.

This shows there is no reason to always assume, that people-based and place-based socio-economic deprivation are related to neighborhood level. This is especially in cases of actual intervention, which are designed to imply a sort of social transformation, which includes a population composition adjustment, obtainable through housing-related mechanisms. Nevertheless, if the social mix practices are not functioning, the territorial focus on fighting socio-economic deprivation will not pursue further help, only to those residents, who are participating in various education and employment programs. Even though, these programs might be beneficial and helpful in some

individual results, they do not tend to have convincing socio-economic impact, not even at a lower level.

Lastly, the consideration of societal and cultural issues in terms of migration is of special attention, as it often stays as a hidden question of neighborhood regeneration. Sweden is an exceptional case, where the integration of the first generation of immigrants is highly explicit, and policies treat the immigrants circumspectly and cautiously. For example, the ethnicity is never eligible for selection indicator. Thus an institutional racism is prevented. At the same time policy makers stress the importance of ethnic diversity and immigrant presence in interventions toward neighborhood regeneration. Additional dose of problematic is specifically the concentration of residents with immigrant backgrounds from lower class. Policy makers commonly handle integration as a people-based intervention. When confronting the socio-economic deprivation, it is improbable, to expect areas with higher concentration of immigrants to assimilate the entire group of them into native culture. Even if residents of one area are reached, the focus within few more areas is too limited.

5. CASE STUDIES

For the case studies I selected three area-based intervention, with different kind of support background, in three different countries in Europe with diverse policy and political context. In all the case studies I focus on the social interactions, and intervention concerning citizen's societal role, demands, and commitment. The area of interest for all cases is to improve: quality of public space, living environments, developing green and open spaces, improving local social and cultural infrastructure.

Selected cases are diverse in the kind of intervention. The first one, Bennets Bazaar incorporate physical changes to tackle social problems from smaller scale to broader. The second one, Prague courtyards is an example of citizen participation for intervention of physical character. The last case study, being the most intensely analyzed is the social intervention in Brunnenstrasse Street. This case study applies strictly non-physical measures for social enhancement within the area, targeting the neighborhood life and interactions and its further-going impact.

In the selected cases I chose projects of different range of scale and different approaches of initiators. The first two studies are describing opposite approach. One is a micro-scale project of bottom-up approach character and other is a project of larger scale organized as a top-down approach. The third case study is analyzed in more details, as it is a long lasting and ongoing initiative, and I could have first hand observation and analysis possibilities. The origin of the project is of top-down character, but intents to provoke bottom-up initiatives among residents.

They all have in common the objective to tackle social problems; generally, the common aims are to engage in issues of socio-economic deprivation, integration and issues of livability. It aims to compare the theory with examples from practice.

5.1 Bennets Bazaar Case Study

BENNETS BAZAAR social sustainable development project

Örtagården area- suburban area of Malmö city, Rosengård, Sweden

Realization date: 2006-2009

Project Bennets Bazaar took place in a residential area Rosengård built in 1967. It is built out in typical Swedish post-war architecture style with modernistic forms, where main entrances of the buildings are facing the inner yards and ground floors are used for accommodation, what limits activities of street life vastly. It was a part of Malmö city housing program – ‘*The million homes program*’, to build out one million housing units. The whole project lasted for around a decade, from 1960’s to 1970’s and was developed to solve the situation of people from villages and rural areas moving to cities. It was a large-scale development project launched by the Swedish Parliament. Such a massive project was then facing problems of urban environment quality. Bennets Bazaar is one among many interventions undertaken in the area. It can be considered as a part of large-scale interventions.

It is a location, which is connecting the inner city of Malmö with the Rosengård area, where the inhabitants themselves have been opening small temporary provisional local businesses in their basements and storage rooms. This is what showed the potential of change in this neighborhood, but also that, that there are no conditions to meet their needs and develop these businesses further. This led to the first decision to make an extended pavilion; Malmö’s Kommunala Bostadsföretag. Kenji Mijazy and Jaenecke Architects designed the pavilion.

Generally the neighborhood had a bad reputation and suffered from massive public criticism. The area is extensively socially segregated with the rate of 86% of inhabitants with migration background. The negative image is caused by non-Swedish background and also by the poor design of the buildings and surroundings, which are very monotonous and has many technical defects, especially in the outdoor environment. Today those circumstances have resulted in large social problems, which remain a big part of the debate of ‘*The million homes program*’. It also emphasizes the matters of social segregation and its elimination, and the need for exterior environments improvement, while letting the neighborhood interconnect with other city parts.

Closer description of the Rosengård area

As previously said, Rosengård is one of the biggest housing areas of Malmö City, with 767 apartments. 40% of the dwellings are under control of Fastighets AB, a civic housing company (what represents 14% of Malmö homes). The rest of the dwellings is either under control of the municipality,

on leasehold or privately owned. The character of homes is simple, usually with 3 rooms and limited variety of choice. The statistics from 2008 state the number of immigrants to be 86% of the inhabitants.

The objective of the projects and the problems to face –identified deficiency

The main objective in this development project was to fully integrate the district into the city and enhance the social sustainability within the area. This also means to bring people to use the public space and meet the needs of the community. Public space shall be enhanced through intervention in the physical design of the space. The project, initiated by municipality, represents a top-down approach.

Although its location is geographically central, (only 10 minutes bike ride from downtown), wide roads enclosing the area act as physical and mental barriers and create a perception of a neighborhood, which is cut out of the city. People spend time outdoors very rarely. The targeted key elements for enhancement are to improve comfort, identity, accessibility and culture.

Problems, which occur nowadays, are originated from past ideals, when commercial and residential areas were separated. The urban form and the past planning do not reflect the way people live now. It was necessary to identify an existing node and create a stronger connection, adding a symbolic value to the area.

Additionally, by targeting those intentions, compactness of the area shall be achieved. In the way to improve the life in the neighborhood shall be considered a mix functions approach. Overall attractiveness shall be increased, allow more meeting places and flow between them. At the same time, the local intimacy and preservation should be defended (Bergström, 2010).

Implementation methods and problem solving

The solution was found in creating the so-called "Bokaler". "Bokaler" comes from combination of two Swedish words, bostad and lokal, which means accommodation and premises. It is an older concept but is used seldom today. The building corresponds to a combined space that accommodates both living and commercial space (Bergström, 2010). It offers new types of rental contracts to entrepreneurial inhabitants. The benefits from this combination are at individual level and also at neighborhood scale level. As example of improvement can be shown the decrease of daily commute to work, what increases family presence (individual level) and at the same time benefit the neighborhood in terms of local liveliness and street activity (community level). The original facades with entrances

were faced into the inner yards, which had created lifeless and unpleasant space from outer side. The remodeled ground floors and new entrances face now to the street and can appeal to local population and embrace multiculturalism.



Figure 13. Bokaler at Bennets street and the remodeled facades with local businesses (source: Rick Hoogduyn)

The initiation of the project came from a housing company MKB (“Malmö’s kommunala bostadsföretag”), active within the area of Rosengård, thus its implementation and procedures followed the top-down approach. The participation of inhabitants was done in an indirect way, by analyzing the life on the streets and conceptualizing the needs of inhabitants. After these observations the analyzed results were incorporated into the plans.

The remodeling of public space was planned to serve also for educational purposes. Principles of education were also an end product of the project. The area is known for large groups of young children and adolescent to be hanging out on the streets. The opening of the businesses should function as a role model especially in the area with high unemployment rate. One of the intentions was to show adolescents the successful entrepreneurs and let them to identify themselves with them.

The intentional goal was to achieve bigger impact with more small interventions, as well as increase the eyes on the streets by opening rather smaller but more businesses spaces.

Interventions undertaken in the project

Apartments on the ground floor were rebuilt and extended by a layout connecting the street. The facades are made of glass walls to appear as welcoming and open, on the contrary of brick walls. Bokals were created with eight new businesses inside them. From hairdresser, juice bar, travel agency, juridical support to local groceries and other. Extended pavilion was constructed out of organically shaped concrete.



Figure 14. Enhancement of public space in Bennets Bazaar and the visualization (source: Tobias Starck, adapted from Anna Wikström)



Figure 15. Extended pavilion in Bennets Bazaar (source: Hållbar Stad, adapted from Anna Wikström)

Benefits and results

Bennets bazaar can be seen as a part of a larger development initiative. It accomplished the aim to deal with the social situation by creating local physical change. To achieve this it was necessary to open up a dialogue with stakeholders, diverse businesses owners, organizations and citizens and to set up a role model and right examples of local planning initiatives. The main goal was to achieve ecological economical and social sustainability, moreover it was acquired to combine several small projects and thus bring to effect a physical and social change within the community.

It has gotten a new identity, as a shopping area. People come to the area intentionally. The most significant and relevant change was life within the community; a stronger node in the neighborhood was created. Further compactness was achieved. The use of sustainable energy became a priority. Sustainable and effective transport system was established (high capacity buses).

Conclusion

Even though the Bennets Bazaar project was a strictly top-down initiative, coming from the potential of economic activities (seen by MKB), generally the local life of community in Bennets Bazaar has revived and so have the development initiatives of Rosengård.

The project was awarded by the Region Skånes Architecture prize in 2010, for its innovative development of a suburban environment. It was rewarded for bridging the relationships between people and redefining its identity. The project has set a good example of how small investments and innovations can lead to a larger change of progressive thinking with focus on the individuals and on a democratic society. Later on, another project, Örtgård Storget in 2012-2013, was carried out on the basis of those principles.

Although the project main target was sustainability, it succeeded in adaptable urban planning significantly, as it had adjusted past urban form to present needs. Additionally planning for social urban resilience was implemented. Notably, with bearing in mind the adaptability of change that the bokals have, the new design meant to be able to stay flexible for other functions, different from the ones of today, on grounds of the future's need (Bergström, 2010). In other words, one has to be mindful to the concept of urban adaptation and social resilience incorporating them into the future planning processes.

One of the struggles existing in the area was the social and cultural exclusion of its inhabitants from Swedish society. The area has stayed fairly mono-cultural, mostly of Arabic origin. Many of

inhabitants don't speak Swedish or English, which also sets a ground for exclusion. The psychological accessibility is thus shaken, does not allow much sense of belonging to other than Middle East inhabitants. The character of shops is almost only Arabic.

The terms of safety closely relate to this matter of monoculture. Even though the place seems lively, and could deliver a feeling of safety (also Jan Gehl states that more people mean more safety), but in Arabic cultures mostly the men are socializing in public, what does not add much positive on the perception of safety within the area. A significant flaw is the fact that the area is still not able to attract people from other parts of the city, what was one of the objectives of the intervention. At first sight it might appear as an active lively place, only closer observation and qualitative analysis can show, that people who come here are mostly coming because of every day necessary activities. But, to make a space, which includes necessary activities, automatically brings more people to the space, which as an important feature of an attractive functioning space.

Changing an image and perception of a space is a great challenge. To overcome a mental barrier requires many kinds of efforts, from many sides. People of different cultures, who are expected to use a certain space, must be a key element in the design, considering each person, regarding its age, gender, culture they grow up in, country of origin and other elements. This is especially important in a place where the inhabitant's culture is very different than the one of natives, in this case Swedish people.

To conclude, Bennets Bazaar can be considered as a suitable example when coping with social local change, which turns into larger sustainability development initiative. The focus was on local needs of small-scale urban enhancement, mainly through physical interventions into the existing urban space. By identifying community and individual desires, the project has incorporated human dimensions, and managed to adapt to approaches and functions in a local context, rather than using one model, which fits broader measures.

5.2 Prague Courtyard Case Study

VNITROBLOK U SVOBODÁRNÝ revitalization of courtyard

Prague District 9- Liben, Czech Republic: public participation in the process of reconstruction of courtyards

Realization date: 2010-2011

This case study represents a process of community planning with bottom-up approach character. It took place in the area of Prague District 9 in Czech Republic. The community planning for improvement of neglected courtyard aims to offer the inhabitants sufficient amenities and comfort. The concept of the revitalization process intends to incorporate all age categories and enhance overall community life.

The first impulse for this intervention was a meeting of inhabitants in 2011, which was organized by NGO Agora CE, attended by the municipality authorities of the district. On these meetings the inhabitants presented their ideas and imaginings of what would they like to have in their courtyard and how would they like to utilize it. It was held that the space would be used for rest, for informal get-togethers of children and adults, as well as for practical activities as hanging out the laundry, walking their dogs, etc.

Characteristics of the intervention area

The courtyards were in very neglected conditions. The inhabitants had been dissatisfied for long time and demanded an act of intervening.



Figure 16. Original condition of the courtyard (source: Agora CE)

Objectives of the project

The objectives were not of one focus only, but rather interrelated. Primarily, it was intended to give opportunity to diverse types of stakeholders and actors to express their intentions. Besides that, the project intended to establish a cooperative group, which would engage inhabitants, local landowners, and local representatives, who would develop together the proposal for the courtyards. Ultimately it was planned to strengthen the relations between the space and the people through deeper cooperation between all included stakeholders. Thus the basis for starting was to create a participatory group.

Implementation process- model of the project execution

The authorities of the district followed up on the accomplishments from another part of the district, from a previous project supporting public participation. The authority decided to include and consider the wishes, needs and suggestions of the inhabitants for the new design of the place.

With the help of this model the municipality could allow the inhabitants to participate in decision- making processes, before the municipality itself suggests the ideas and proposals. Thanks to this model in the process could be incorporated more actors as councilors, citizens (as retired people as young families), city hall workers, NGOs and other. It was necessary to support all stakeholders to achieve the successful and desired completion of the renovation.

The model sums up the process in the following steps:

1. Step: Preparation- the creation of agenda

In this phase the discussion take its course with council employees, which reviewed the problems of local community. Later they develop the subject matter and attempt to find out possible support from city hall and their approval of the concept for citizens' participation in solving of selected problems.

2. Step: Set the rules

For the success of a project it is necessary to set ground rules. The most efficient is if the city approves the goals of the project and conducts activities within the project. Everyone who would like to participate in the discussion is required to accept these rules.

3. Step: Motivation and citizen involvement

The citizens' priorities are crucial as well as what they think of selected themes. This can be surveyed through opinion polls in newspapers, organized meetings and walks in troubled areas, in telephone interviews mediated by deputies and employees of City hall.

Agora CE provided the technical support, the content was completely in the hand of the participatory groups. The questionnaire focused on how to use the area and how it had been used previously. This also helped to determine the key stakeholders and examine the actual interest of the inhabitants in the course of participation in the restoration area. It also caught the attention of local inhabitants for activism and interest in the changes.

4. Step: Assign priorities- first public encounter

Those who are interested in the topic (councilors, town hall workers, NGOs, citizens and entrepreneurs, etc.) are invited to attend the discussion. The goal is to create a list of priorities and possible problem solving. Here the interested parts establish working groups. Representatives of the Prague District 9, local residents, architects, representatives of owners of houses were all approached to participate in the group.

When the first public meeting was organized, the results of the survey were introduced to the locals. An architect hired by the municipality was also attending the meeting.

5. Step: Conception of a plan and activity preparation

The working groups meet in regular gatherings over several months. The participants introduce their ideas and the action plan to authorities and to the public and further discuss the solution possibilities. Specified proposals of the reconstruction were formed and by the second public meeting the best proposal was selected for the implementation.

6. Step: Decision-taking

The appropriate authorities decide which parts of the action plan will be implemented, allocate funds to selected projects and establish a timetable for implementation. They provide the information and reasons that led to their decision to the councilors and citizens.

7. Step: Implementation- realization of action plans

The responsible bodies for realization of the action plans inform regularly about the evolution of the processes. Information is provided either via media or personal meetings with citizens, who took part in the project.



Figure 17. Citizens meetings (source: Agora CE)

Methods

The project applied several methods for targeting the community development. First of all and most dominantly the participation principle was pursued. Participation was on voluntary terms, the most dominating were the local stakeholders. The meetings of the participation group were essential for the used methods. The personal experience was crucial in the communication.

The method for identifying of needs and intentions was carried out through local survey with the use of questionnaires. In the questionnaires the inhabitants could express their opinion on current character and specify what are their wishes for future use. There were not so many of the completed questionnaires but it helped to recognize the group of people who currently use the space and subsequently the focus of these people.

The participation meetings, involving all stakeholders, were designed as workshops. The participants could introduce their views and opinions, and discuss proposed changes with the attendance of the representatives of the municipality of the district. People appreciated the opportunity greatly to be incorporated in the decision-making processes. The decisive method was the creation of the working groups, which allowed this opportunity and supported specific proposals, which followed

the needs of the users of the courtyards.

Benefits and results

Generally, one can say that the planned goals were achieved. The engagement of Agora CE (NGO) helped to create the questionnaire with the participatory group, and coordinated the communication strategy for the entire project. They managed to involve all key stakeholders and provide their participation in the groups, what was influential and decisive for the decision-making process.

The project has strengthened the confidence of local inhabitants in participatory processes and by that managed to demonstrate how the authorities of municipal district operate and to what range are their actions adaptable. Additionally the participatory groups strengthened community interactions and managed to stay on informal terms, thus enabled to continue address collective concerns also after the project realization.



Figure 18. Newly constructed features in the courtyard (source: atelier a05)



Figure 19. Newly constructed features in the courtyard (source: atelier a05)



Figure 20. Newly constructed features in the courtyard (source atelier a05)

Conclusion

Everyone was able to comment on the future shape of courtyards, participation was entirely voluntary, and most people appreciated the opportunity to participate in the decision making process. Another advantage of participation is that people appreciate more and take better care of something, what includes their ideas. On the site were constructed resting places, pergola, playground, but also practical features as clotheshorse and a space for dog walking and training. Besides, by building courtyards with pleasant environment tailored directly to its residents needs and desires, the project has increased the confidence of local residents, gave the opportunity to participate in decision-making and helped shape the local community in informal groups, which can continue the activities in the public space and building the relationships among inhabitants.

5.3 Brunnenstrasse Case study

BRUNNESTRASSE STREET urban development program

Brunnenstrasse Street, Wedding district-central area of Berlin, Germany

Realization date: ongoing project of community enhancement, 2005-present

This case study, which I chose for closer analysis is located in the German capital, Berlin. Brunnenstraße Street is a central street of the Brunnenviertel neighborhood. It underwent a major intervention as a part of an urban development program called 'Social City'. The concepts of the program have been realized since 1999 with support of the federal government, directed on the enhancement of socially and economically disadvantaged and structurally unstable areas. This program aims to transform these areas into vibrant and lively neighborhoods and intends to intensify social cohesion. Further the program approaches intergenerational equity and ensures family-friendly environment by urban investment in the residential ecosystem and thus allow the inhabitants life of equal chances to integrate and participate.

By the end of 2014 there have been 390 cities involved and 659 measures undertaken in total. The federal funds have provided for the 'Social City' program an additional 40 million euro in 2013, the program budgeted 150 million euro ready for the projects in 2015. The urban context remains the social integration and should be serving as a foundation for interagency strategy 'Social City'.

The case study presents how the area has evolved, the past primal pivotal projects, as well as the ongoing processes and future considerations. It attempts to examine what the involved procedures and decisive factors for implementation of the program methods are.

The basic objectives and criteria of the primal idea

The primary objective from 2005 intended to incorporate the pilot project into the development concept, considering the social-integrative entrepreneurial field and the inclusion of the different societal actors (politics, economy, third sector, civil society, etc.)

The additional objectives and criteria

Additional targets are to consider various entrepreneurs of the 'Social City', innovative project content, testing out of new implementation processes and work attitude, activism of residents in the neighborhood and of other local actors, offensive open way of work toward implementation of the pilot project, evaluation of the quality management.

The pilot projects play a vital role in the program implementation within municipal practice. Particular attention shall be given to the new implementation approach, containing key matters of social-integrative area as qualification and training deficit, insufficient and inadequate resident's engagement, unhealthy lifestyle, refusal of education, gap in relevant support services, including networking among various initiatives, organizations and actors, linkage between socially integrative project and building interference, qualitative enhancement of landscape projects, following development of already existing projects-particularly the ones applied for longer period and greater participation.

The possible obstructions and difficulties of the implementation

The interwoven workers of the pilot project named the following subjects to possibly hinder the implementation: insufficient funding information, short-term application processes, long-term approval periods for the partners to stay engaged, and high expenses (especially by small projects). Moreover, it was noted, the pilot projects could not solve the problem of lacking financing possibilities in the social-integrative field of 'Social City' program.

Overall, the promotion of pilot projects has encountered the municipalities with a great response. Many models of pilot projects show that effective joining of different private and public finance resources is possible, when there exists a vital interplay of actors, both in and out of political and administrative intentions, as well as linkage of urban and spatial projects following the philosophy of the 'Social City' program. But at the same time it is important to make a habit out of these goals, in particular by greater involvement of social, labor, educational, economy, health and environment policies.

The case of Brunnenstraße Street

The area description

Neighborhood description of the broader sight

The neighborhood is immediately adjacent to two neighborhoods that differ from Brunnenviertel in urban construction, population structure and economic situation; the Alt-Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg. The nearby Swinemünder road with its width a landscape is a striking north-south axis through the residential district. It connects the Vinetaplatz with playground and more green and recreational areas on the "Million-bridge" of the Gesundbrunnen station. To the East by an extended and rehabilitated wall of the Parks on the Bernauer Street comes the Gleimstraße Street, where a new residential area is under construction.

The district of Brunnenviertel used to be of Wilhelminian character, but since the 1960's there have been built out substantial multi-storey residential buildings with spacious backyards full of greenery. Then it produced a new residential area that appeared as a strange body in the district, despite its big open spaces qualities. Neighboring commercial areas, railway lines and busy roads also act as barriers to the surrounding districts.

Neighborhood description at a closer sight

The street Brunnenstraße is already interesting due to its location, dividing the neighborhood in east and west part. There used to be wall separation from three different sides, which is still clearly visible today. The area has a significant historical constructional and a social-economical background.

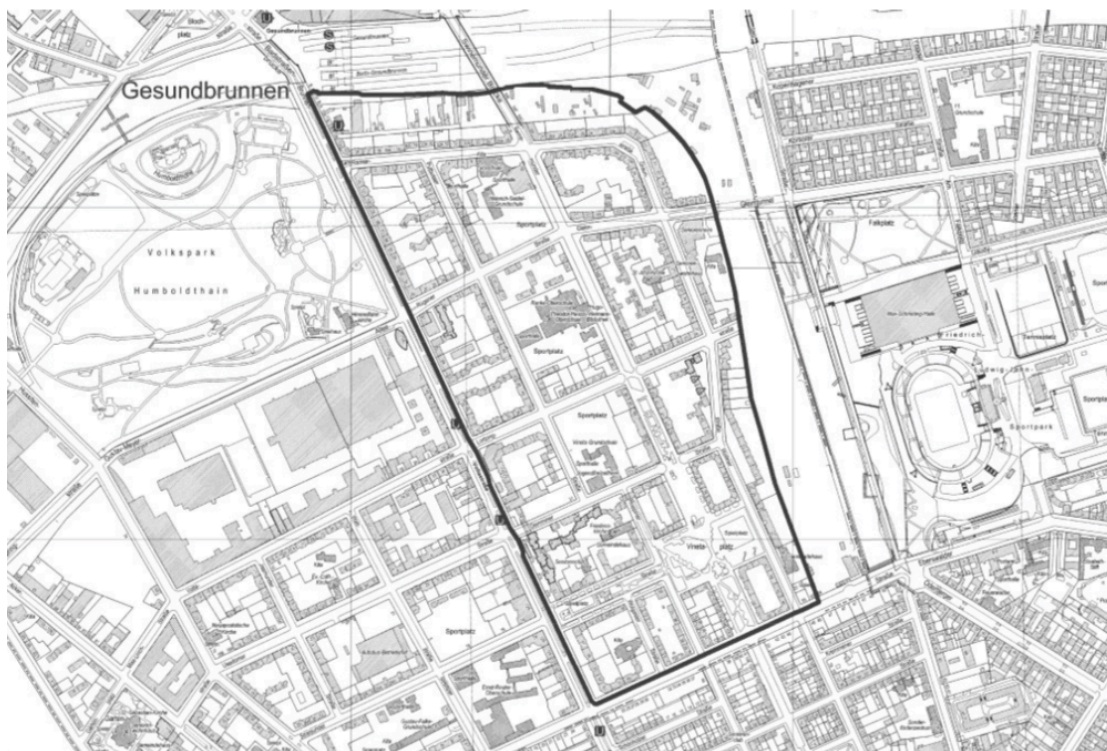


Figure 21. Demarcation of the area around Brunnenstrasse Street (source: *Handlungskonzept 2009, Stadtteilmanagement Brunnenviertel Brunnenstrasse*)

As of 2013 the area of Brunnenstraße Street resided around 12 880 inhabitants number (with light increase of 0,2 percent), among them 54 percent having immigration background. The vast part of them is of Turkish or Arab origin. There are newly constructed residential houses as well, which added up approximately 550 new apartments. The proportion of children among the migrant residents is significantly higher, than among German inhabitants. The percentage of households with adolescents and children is over 65 percent. The demographical structure of age shows that the Brunnenviertel is a young neighborhood. Under the age of 18 is around 23,8 percent of residents (in

comparison with Berlin as a whole, where it is 15 percent). Around half of the residents- 51,3 percent is under the age of 35 (in Berlin 19 percent). The average age is 36,2. The rate of unemployment is higher than average as well, being 21,4 percent, whilst there is no notable center of commerce and only few smaller retail businesses. About 40 percent of inhabitants in this area are active in government services, individual or in companies.

Area as pilot project for rehabilitation- reasoning

The “demolition and reconstruction” in the 1960s led not only to a loss of identity-forming development, but also to of higher income residents relocating in following years. The social problems were aggravated and neighborly relations were falling apart. This is where the pilot project comes to relevance. It supports the base ground of existing resources and potentials of small initiatives and projects of residents. They should revive the area as a neighborhood and promote a socio-spatial networking and active participation of citizens in decisions making of neighborhood development.

The project and its objectives

The pilot project aims to enhance extensively participation, especially of families, children and young people (with a migration background) as well as job seekers. Committed citizens will advance their individual skills and abilities along onto their fellow citizens, will offer courses and mini projects for others in the neighborhood voluntarily or for a small fee. The citizens can present their personal project ideas at the Association for Intercultural Work (VIA), at Regional Association Berlin / Brandenburg or other appointed project coordinators. In cases of individual coaching as well as in continuously held group coaching, they will be accompanied and supported by a qualified supervisor in their project activities. Of great importance is the networking of individual projects among themselves and with other relevant institutions of the district.

Implementation and other necessary steps of the project realization

In 2006, with the first publicity-effective measures and actions began the first agenda under the motto "residents encourage residents". By the end of the project period in 2008, were being conducted almost 100 civil projects of 94 project managers in the areas of ‘Citizens and Education’, ‘Citizens and Neighborhood’, ‘Integration’ and ‘Health and Sports’. The range of project ideas and courses, some of which still exist today, was covering Nordic walking groups, karaoke for teens and yoga classes for children, fitness for woman, sewing classes or even a Boule Group.

In 2008 a scientific evaluation was assigned with support and cooperation of partners of free

office. The results of the pilot projects were a noticeable revival of the neighborhood. The intercultural exchange and networking of public institutions and initiatives of community work have improved, and an increasing identification of citizens with their residential area was recognized.

After the pilot project ended in 2008 there are ongoing projects, which are now funded by district funds, which come from the budget of the city of Berlin. Currently 20 projects are funded, which bear on themes as 'Help to help yourself', 'Intercultural Dialogue' and 'Neighborly Relations'. Successful civil project leaders have also become role models for those who wish to apply the same schemes, or partly, they are on the way to become self-employed.

The efforts that followed are focused on the creation of a civic association WIB, which intends to continue the citizens' projects and put them on a sustainable basis, so the citizens would work in independent actions.

Success Factors - advice for "copycat"

The success of WIB – "Wir im Brunnenviertel" (translated as "Us in the neighborhood") is based on the activation and participation of citizens. It requires strengthening their personal and individual resources. Many mini-projects were not successful in the first conception, because it was necessary to adopt them according to the district practices, which does not only require flexibility of the civil project managers, but also continuous advices and support from Project-coachers. At the same time it is vital to enable the project managers to see a perspective in their work (beyond the funding period).

Financing

The neighborhood management is implemented through the federal-state program *Socially Integrative City*. Physical measures and social infrastructural activities are carried out for each neighborhood according to the action plans.

In the Berlin neighborhood management normally the funding opportunities come from four different funds for each QM (neighborhood management) program area, which is selected by Senate. The funds are financed from the State of Berlin and partly involving the Federal support for urban development, and the European Union funds.

The current evolvement on Brunnenstrasse Street: Integrated action plan 2015

Since the pilot project of 'Social City' program, the area became a subject of an ongoing integrated action plan. The management of the neighborhood prepares annually report and concept of development for upcoming year. The reports present a short description of the area and analysis of strengths and weaknesses in a compact review of past year. To rest upon past strategies and key projects it ultimately leads to the strategic objectives and priorities for action for the upcoming year. The action plan is then discussed in Neighborhood counsel and eventually coordinated with municipal district office and Senate.

Key features and important actors:

Education

There are 800 children attending 9 children centers or nurseries. 1000 pupils attend 3 different elementary schools. There is a well functioning network of nurseries and kindergartens, which provide information among each other about the primary focus of those institutions, as language integration, flexible opening hours, sport or language orientation and other. The central green learning venue is an intercultural community garden "Mauergarten". It is a community initiative of local character, which connects people of different backgrounds and cultures. It has been developing a social and open organic space in the area since 2012.



Figure 22. Intercultural community garden "Mauergarten", founded in neighborhood (source: internet)

Youth work

The Olof-Palme youth center was closed on 30th of November 2014, but instead of that new Olof-Palme center was opened, called 'House of encounter', it is planned to incorporate international youth research center, which was already active on the Brunnenstrasse. The WIB –youth club has been in active terms as well.



Figure 23. Events and festivities organized for neighborhood (source: internet)

Community and neighborhood

The self-organized neighbor network BV- compact has established within the last two years and added spaces on Graunstrasse Street and Ramlerstrasse Street. A regular monthly intercultural program was designed, oriented primarily on adults of all ages.

The workshop center “Supermarket” had developed to be a vital partner of neighborhood events, building networks for social innovation, but abandoned the spaces of Brunnenstrasse Street 64 on 30th of June 2015.

There are two migrant organizations, one is societal group ”Arresalah”, promoting Koran and Arabic lessons, and the other one is the registered association ”Berliner Gesellschaft” for promotion of intercultural education.

Sport and Exercise

The representative of the Basketball Club “Weddinger Wiesel”, a very dedicated coordinator, that is responsible for the project “Kiezsportlotsin”, but his role in lobbying is still very expandable.

Residence and commerce

The Degewo Company regulates almost 80 % of the housing stock in the neighborhood, being thus very influential actor of the development. Other than on the Brunnenstrasse Street there are hardly any shops and restaurants or commercial businesses in the area.

State of development of the area

Activation

Activation is still a necessary groundwork and by far has indicated as being most successful through direct personal contact, neighborhood and courtyard festivities. Especially the activation of non-German residents is in need of improvement; success was mostly achieved by activity of BV compact club. Project and events that target the involvement of residents as co-operators and integral participants, instead of only users has been proven to be successful, in exchanging knowledge as club “Wissenbörse”, which one can loosely translate as market of knowledge.

The common neighborhood workshops have shown activity and participation of around 80 people. There is a survey planned in 2016 to dwell on the activation. Throughout the projects the opinions and feedback from residents were tracked, via the number of consultation and dialogue events.

Responsibility for neighborhood

The state-owned housing company Degewo is in charge of almost 80% of the housing and has a strong and indispensable control of many neighborhood issues, in decision making about the use of low cost spaces and the co-financing of projects.

The network BV – Compact has developed into a small but fine community center and has taken over different tasks (community work, cultural actions, seniors activity). Also individual residents increasingly take on more responsibility for the cleaning and maintenance of public space or improving accessibility.

In October 2014 the project of three-year-long research ‘Neighborhood Climate’ was launched. It aims to use participatory development in climate change adaptation measures, implementing the example of Berlin Brunnenviertel neighborhood as an innovative strategy in urban development. Actors of pilot project Brunnenviertel- Brunnenstrasse Street and residents themselves shall develop, discuss and plan first structural measures for implementation. The project processes and outcomes are evaluated in order to gather transferable recommendations for other neighborhoods.

Networking in the neighborhood

The network of kindergartens and nurseries is a far going and well functioning concept, and is still coordinated by neighborhood management. There is cooperation between kindergartens and elementary schools, via program ‘Education through language and writing’.

An important part of the networking is done in relation to participation of residents. There is a meeting twice a year of two main neighborhood management councils, which cooperate on good terms. There was established a new initiative which brings together all representatives of all Berlin Councils.

Self-organized club BV – Compact has been very successful, including other intern partners that have been involved in a number of topics. The networking was successful even to extern parts, as the study program for seniors in cooperation with TU Berlin.

Educational situation

Library Hugo-Heiman Bibliothek was closed down on 27th of April, which brought the area to lose an important function regarding tuition and media literacy, as well as rooms for voluntary activities. The number of elementary school attendant has risen since 2012/2013. Both elementary schools have obtained in 2015 full sum of Bonus Program, which spare the learning costs for 75% of the pupils, which can be beneficial especially for the migration background and for pupils with difficulties of integration.

Living conditions

According to Mietspiegel (which reflects on rent situation) 100% of inhabitants live in simple residential areas. The percentage of residents with at least five years length of residence at the same address is approximately 58%, which is higher than the average around other districts (53%). Along

the Brunnenstrasse Street there are over the past two years again increasingly more vacancies. Nevertheless a generally improvement of the living environment has been recorded.

Traffic calming, greening, inhabitation quality and perception of safety have improved. However, regarding to the greenery care, the need of improvement persists. There is an increasing awareness of physical accessibility. Very few publicly accessible sports grounds are available; many schools sport fields are closed on weekends or afternoon and therefore "climbed over". There has been even complaints from parents about drug use in some parts.

Since 2010 there have been acknowledged 1800 potential accommodation units, until 2013 100 of them had been realized or are in realization process. Since 2014 another 11 plots are under construction to complete another 1700 accommodation units by 2020.

Vision for Brunnenviertel neighborhood (concerning the social public relations)

In 2007 the Brunnenstrasse Street together with the Degewo Company form a vision for the Brunnenviertel neighborhood. The management of the two neighborhoods developed in accordance basis for concerted strategic action. In 2012 the model within neighborhood workshop has been updated and supplemented. In this paper it is presented the composure from 16th of April 2013, which was concluded by the involvement of neighborhood manager and Degewo Company as well as residents and other local actors. The following paragraphs describe these visions in individual segments.

Neighborhood, culture, community and health

The inhabitants and actors have learned to confidently self-organize and engage in community. Residents of all ages know their meeting places and focal points as well as recreational possibilities in their neighborhood. The decentralized meeting places are located so they would allow space for different utilization and for intergenerational and intercultural encounters. For example a family center serves as well as meeting venue for young families from different cultures and place for events of different focus of activities. The "Machbar" (what cleverly hides the word bar in a word for doable or makeable) is a place for events and serves as networking center in work, education, employment and community. The focus on health promotion is reflected and visible also in the public space: Various exercise programs invite young and old target groups and encourage for more movement in everyday life - whether in institutions or self-organized, individual or in groups. Consulting and networking structures for more exercise and healthy eating in the neighborhood are well known and are effectively exploited.

Public space and housing

The Brunnenviertel evolved into a livable area with a particular strength in its social diversity: families with children, seniors and young couples and single households of different ethnic and social backgrounds live in the neighborhood. They maintain a peaceful and respectful neighborly interaction with each other. The public space in the neighborhood is designed in a way that the inhabitants would feel safe, stay happy and the children could play safely. The maintenance of public green spaces is organized through involvement of residents themselves and is well complemented and appreciated by the green space planning office. There are green areas, which connect the neighborhoods and their parts with each other. The urban spatial isolation, that is also the psychological and planning barriers - in particular with neighboring Prenzlauer Berg, Alt-Mitte - are overcome, the connection is made without the loss of its peculiarities in Brunnenviertel. The peace with centrality, quality greenery and shopping possibilities, with good transport, leisure and recreation facilities make the Brunnenviertel a popular living space for new tenants as well. Still the housing for actors, politics and civil society ensure to contribute consciously that the formal tenant's interests are preserved, and they can feel safe and do not need to worry about ineligible changes. Protection of lower prices in housing is secured.

Participation, networking and involvement of partners

Residents of the area are aware of social processes and changes in the area and they participate with increasing confidence in the discussion and resolution of problems in their neighborhood and beyond it. There is an involved role of organizations, bodies, institutions and professionals, who are as far as possible known to residents. Together they are becoming more involved, more self-organized, and cooperative and solidary to their district. Neighborly assistance is attained, in inclusion and helping seniors, residents helping each other. Degewo Company as a "strong partner in neighborhood development" supports establishments and networks to make sustainable efforts to strengthen the resident's role and improve the quality of life in the district.

Need for action

Future challenges

The following tasks remain a priority in planning and future consideration:

>> Strengthening cooperation between the formal and informal educational institutions in Brunnenviertel through demand-oriented networking.

Because of the current diverse population structure of the area the displacement potential is high, that is why neighbor commitment needs to be further strengthened. It is already foreseeable that the

spaces of Olof- Palme Center will not be enough, especially with a batch of skepticism, which produce potential use conflicts.

>> Provide open space for youth and strengthen their participation, and support close cooperation with the “Pfefferwerk”. (The Foundation Pfefferwerk headquartered in Berlin, was founded in 1999 and recognized in May 2000 as a foundation under civil law by the Senate Department for Justice, Berlin government The Pfefferwerk Foundation operates regionally and is oriented on both operational and promotional activism. It can either carry out own projects or other non-profit initiatives and projects attended under the alternative funding for creating new jobs and training opportunities or improve the employability of disadvantaged people. The aim is to strengthen the community and its cohesion and prevent marginalization and social isolation. The gender equality is underlined as well as equal access to educational opportunities for to all residents of the community.)

>> Participation in the development and implementation of the concept for commercial development along the Brunnenstrasse Street, with orientation on those needs of the residents.

>> Establishing cooperation of existing bodies following the context of the models for collective impact.

>> Reinforcement of structural cooperation between professional planning offices, the city district, neighborhood itself, neighborhood management and family centers.

The future role of the neighborhood and the advisory committee should be kept in mind in the discussion. Diverse participation contexts should be a part of administration and policies, along with networking skills of involved people, not necessarily only in the ‘*Social City*’ process.

Conclusion

The main objective throughout the years has been to activate the residents themselves in solving the issues of social planning. Later, to encourage the participation, whether in physical intervention or in increasing the interest in their neighborhood transformation and tendencies. It was oriented also on creating courses and activities for leisure time, just for pastime, as well as activities with secondary intention, as integration, inclusion, equality, educational aims, etc. A special emphasis was given to the inclusion of different ages and different backgrounds, whether ethnically or socially different.

A decisive role in those processes has played the establishment of Neighborhood Management office (QM) in 2005. It was instituted by Berlin Senate and Mitte District, and commissioned by

L.I.S.T., which is Ltd. for city development. The main goal of this office is to work together toward the development with residents and all interested and engaged actors, in order to make people feel comfortable and identify with their surrounding and make it attractive also for potential incomers. The aim is to detect and develop the potential that exists and make it to its own strength. They claim it is only possible to reach these goals by engaging people who live and work here, because they know best what the neighborhood needs. That is why these initiatives have more bottom-up approach, as they are not meant to be initiated “from above”, but to strengthen the self-determinacy and responsibility for action of residents in their neighborhood.

The interventions are oriented on non-building initiatives. The active involvement rests in informing the citizens about neighborhood situation and plans, as well as incorporating their ideas, and valuing their opinions and queries. This has been primarily done through questionnaires and interviews, personal or on the created websites for the neighborhood actions. Residents can express how they feel about working and educating environment within their neighborhood and be involved in decision-making via voting (For instance, there was a case if a tree shall be cut down, which was decided against it). Additionally the Neighborhood management office provides information on the activities, meetings, events and happenings within the area, as well as its facebook page and magazine, which is free of charge. Emphasis was given to the principal of cooperation between residents, mutual help and interaction, and education of the residents to self-sufficiency. The results as well as deficiencies and new plans, leaderships and evolvement are actively presented in yearly analysis made by Ltd. Company for city development L.I.S.T.

The area Brunnenstaße faces the challenge, to compensate, to at least some extent, the many infrastructural changes in the social and educational field, respecting the housing construction. The local activities are included in plans, therefore it is necessary to think not temporarily or finally, but rather to think permanently.

Author's additional observation

The area has an air of calm residential zone. On a daily basis the streets are active and well maintained. The overall impression is a functioning safe environment. But feeling of strong ethnic almost foreign domination is present. The area draws advantages from a relatively big park area – ‘Volkspark Humboldtthein’ and the touristic area of Berlin Wall memorial center, by the south border of the area, which deliver lively and active atmosphere. The nature of little shops, businesses and services is almost strictly foreign, but the very hip and trendy influence from near central districts Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg is more and more present, especially on the bordering south part. There are

many events, markets and neighbors meetings, which incorporate local involvement and notion of belonging. The overall perception, despite of analyzed flaws, appears very lively and encourages to further improvement and deeper engagement. Here is required strengthening cooperation between the formal and informal educational institutions in Brunnenviertel district through demand-oriented networking.



*Figure 24. Images of Brunnenstrasse Street life.
(source: author)*

6. DISCUSSION: challenges facing urban regeneration in neighborhoods

Processes of urban regeneration have to face many obstacles and tackle intractable issues. The methods and principles reviewed in this work have shown the principles for regeneration, but also that applying those principles is not a success guarantee. There are several challenges and judgments, arriving from the analysis and case studies.

Social capital is essential for strategies in urban regenerations concepts. High level of social bonding can be crucial for the quality of life. Coordination and cooperation on local level might enhance outcomes reaching out to regional level. On the other hand jeopardy is in over-focusing on neighborhood only. Local initiatives still need to be connected to wider economic and social forces. Area-based intervention programs need to be undertaken with proper attention to macro policies and deal with fundamental problems of an area.

On the neighborhood level the issue of sentiment might play a role as well. As already Jane Jacobs stated: “ *Neighborhood is a word that has come to sound like a valentine. As a sentimental concept 'neighborhood' is harmful to city planning. It leads to attempts at warping city life into imitations of town or suburban life. Sentimentality plays with sweet intentions in place of good sense*” (Jacobs, 1969, p. 122). One can easily fall into sentimental view of the neighborhood, but at the same time it is important not to undervalue the social significance of a neighborhood, and consider the human scale that acts in urban environment.

Challenges of urban regeneration programs

Typically the urban regeneration programs are housing oriented. In those cases other key-elements in neighborhood are neglected. There is a threat of insufficient attention to cultivating of social capital and economic regeneration. It is not out of the question, that regeneration might destroy local networks and communities. It mostly applies to large-scale interventions, when an expensive regeneration coming from a public body might be destructive for some families. Anne Power (2007) explains how parents in situations, when they are forced to move, somewhere they do not know, feel fear from making new contacts and adapting from scratch. Mainly poorer people are displaced, and the ones who most needed the help, end up within disrupted communities. Anne Power adds, saying that regeneration exists due to distinguish between community and neighborhood conditions clearly. Public intervention attempt to eradicate visible problems within poor neighborhoods, but this may separate families, who are creating a sense of belonging and of community and are attached to familiar people and places. In low-income communities this might be the biggest challenge to face, to countervail and mitigate the jeopardy of exiting social knots (Power, 2007). At the same time, the role

of families in regenerating areas is of great importance. Families are significant a positive force in a city, they use social space frequently, and they need each other and try hard, especially for others to create social contact. Individually they contribute in small amount, but in very significant ways. “*This is rarely harnessed nor properly recognized in regeneration initiatives,*” concludes the author (Power, 2007, p.188).

The neighborhood risks are the undermining of community life by rapid physical change. Critical might be, firstly, that the proportion of housing does not meet the needs and there are not enough houses built. Secondly, the orientation of the development is far too market-led, commercial builders look for most profit, not for the best solution (as inappropriate specification, ‘buy to let’ – houses, etc.). Or there might occur significant underinvestment. This happens often in social housing or so called affordable housing. Lastly, it is the case of poor design. This befalls often in brownfield development.

The matter of reintegration and restoration is not always a priority. Often the approaches of rebuilding are in a sense of fresh start, and a lot of demolishing instead of renovation and keeping the character of a space. Often those who need the regeneration the most, have the least voice. Sometimes their opinions might be disregarded. Encouragement in these cases is even more challenging and time-consuming. It also requires a fundamental shift in politicians’, developers’ and policy-makers’ attitude. Here of course is crucial how the neighborhood is managed on local level.

Challenges in participatory planning

The consequences of participation might turn out very differently than expectations. The consultations and dialogues may give participants a feeling of power, even when the most power is in the hand of the government. The participating inhabitants do not necessarily agree with the decision made from the above. At the same time, the expectations of the participants might not meet the result in reality. This can be prevented by good communication throughout the whole process. Furthermore, the transformation strategies might lead to conflicts, when residents would not come to consensus, or to tension between groups of residents and acting bodies. Rowlands and Hall (2005) say that it shows how these visions in transformations are rather from governing managers and elites than from residents.

Another issue is the time factor. Even if an action is bottom-up initiated, it will only be approved and realized by governmental authorities. The administrative processes are not familiar for residents, there patience and long-term commitment is essential. Often residents need to be convincing

and fighting for agreement from governance. Consequently they need to be aware of that the implantation takes long time. There is a risk of projects to get 'stuck' and stay still.

For the top-down initiatives there is level of risk as well. Firstly, in participatory planning there is clear division of roles, as in traditional planning. Furthermore, the power of a stakeholder can make a designer to redesign a project several times. The financing issues may also cause uncertainties. Usually the planning models use monthly budgets, which are assigned for a limited time. If a project is surpassing, for the time after it is difficult to organize new budgets. Björnson confirms this when arguing that it will not necessarily have to take longer time, but the time-span is more uncertain from the launching (Rick Hoogduyn's interview with Björnson, 2014).

Participatory planning requires cohesion within society. It pursues to transform the opinions of stakeholders into interventions. In this transformation has to be precise route in the solutions. It can cause counterproductive effects, if there is no cohesion within society. Through participation the processes can obstruct each other, what can make them stuck.

The all time favorite is the matter of bureaucracy. This goes as for bottom-up, as for top-down processes. Bureaucracy can be decelerating, if not a completely hindering component. Particularly, in the bottom-up initiatives, when the initiator is not a municipality, the willingness to help and cooperate is not implicit. Frequently criticized is the lack of understanding within the power structures, which are presented in the planning-political culture (Flyvbjerg, 2002). Connelly and Richardson (2004) criticize the unfeasibility to involve all interests and actors.

Challenges in social context: Misguided social aim or new utopia

Since the modernistic unrealistic ideas of human behavior from 1960's planning expectations there has been a little bit of irony in the social problems solutions. The visions from these planning practices of modern man leaving his family in spacious and healthy dwelling, in green, well-served residential zone, while he commutes to city center to provide for his family, resemble the today's community life ideals. The social heterogeneity in the compositions of households, in culture, income, ethnicity, gender and age is recognized but does not presents a challenge for social exchange, contacts or volunteering and altruism. The idea to expect the middle class to leave comfortable new apartment with terraces to help and engage with lower class to become employed, educated, empowered and integrated is somewhat unrealistic. While there are positive examples of exchanging of social capital, the beliefs are too optimistic. Even researches show that contact between groups with explicit differences in interests, income or culture is rather shallow and limited (Goodchild and Cole, 2001).

The insufficiency in research evidence of benefits of social mixing is also adding to a questionable judgment.

Another potential risk is a pathological view on poverty. The social policies focus on the poor ones as the ones who are the cause for destitution and exclusion. The regeneration may result in stigma rather than uplifting. As the guilty can be seen the victim, thus the poor or excluded ones, for their scarcity and distress. Social justice in this case shall be better protected through structural measures and domain-related actions, in the fields of labor market and education. These may require extra economic effort, but guarantee a living reward (Wacquant, 2008).

The social agenda is occasionally exaggerating, and could acquiesce a little moderating measures, neighborhood regeneration has great potential for changing the city for better and improve dilapidated spaces. However it is not possible to avoid any kind of social cost. This cost will always exist, either in form of displacement or in breaking up social networks. In summary, the neighborhood regeneration can't be seen as an organizational or political question, but very much as an ethical question as well. Challenging remains to find the balance between advantages of improved public space and housing and the social cost, which the processes may generate.

7. CONCLUSION

There has always been a notion of shortage of something in the living or built environment that needs to be designed or regenerated; shortage of housing, shortage of schools or kindergartens, shortage of universities or hospitals. In efforts to fill this shortage, sometimes a very basic component is missing. A component established in building of ancient towns, it is a notion of building a home.

Home means more than the space defined by walls. It relates to all physical and social components of the core of the built-up area. The relation between those components, as a neighborhood we grow up in, the immediate surroundings, people living next door, places we went to school, is giving us the sense of belonging. It forms our background, provides satisfaction, fulfillment of desires, and enhancement of the places we live in, contributing to our pride. These components must combine in harmony to make a neighborhood a place called home. The urban planning and disparity of social and societal activities must come to consensus to be able to create harmonious contact between these components, to be in a state of mutual dialog and to be free to affect and enhance each other. In a functioning society people can't be isolated or divided into separate categories like age, social status or race. On the contrary, there is a continual flow needed between different categorizations. An opposite of these interconnections, an isolated organization can only lead to sterile, detached and monotonous community. Urban regeneration works in favor of neighborhoods like this.

Proper analysis of local conditions is a foundation for well-balanced neighborhood exploration, when considering urban regeneration. In general, successful urban regeneration should meet following requirements: to consider relations between simultaneous changes of social structures, physical fabric, environmental conditions and economic base; to be able to implement balanced, comprehensive, integrated and positive strategies; to recognize how differently will these strategies progress and how the program needs to be altered according to changed circumstances; to be based on quantified and clear objectives and be consistent with sustainable development; to adopt partnership working and so seek the consensus and participation among all stakeholders; to incorporate most efficiently the use of available human, economic, natural and other resources; to monitor and measure properly the progress of changing through external and internal forces that act upon local level (Adapted from Roberts, 2000).

Firstly, this study attempts to justify, *how neighborhood regeneration works on social level*. The case studies seek to reveal *what are the possible outcomes of neighborhood regeneration when implementing non-physical, non-building interference but, social appliances (interaction, participation, integration, etc.)*.

The results of the case study seek the answers to these questions. The regeneration with no physical interference calls out for inclusivity and intensifies social structures and interactions. It aims to educate all groups regardless of, whether their origin - economic or ethnic, or regardless of their age, in order to eliminate dysfunctional social matters. This education happens through various forms of intervention. It can be through organization of events, workshops, educational lectures, or conversational groups, and other initiatives for desired improvements in the neighborhood. It is crucial for these actions to inform residents, catch their attention and raise their awareness. It is crucial for these actions; therefore citizen activism, networks and participation measures are suitable tools for implementation.

The case study of Brunnenstrasse Street shows that to apply changes successfully, organizational bodies need to be established, with efficient support of diverse context. Not only local authorities, but also higher institutions need to be engaged, as well as diverse types of stakeholders. As seen in this case, it is the local management, city planning and city development offices, privately owned companies and public figures. Another decisive factor is financial support; in this case, the neighborhood regeneration is part of a larger initiative.

Secondly, the focus is set on the community and participation matters. Here the sought questions are: *What is the role of citizen in community development?* More precisely: *What are the measures and factors for strengthening the community life?*

Embracing people to do autonomous choices is of great importance. It is typical for human mentality to like neatness and tidiness. Already fifty years ago Jane Jacobs apprehends that cities are successful and productive when functioning as a complex organism of interactions between people and their surrounded material. Such organisms lead to productivity not only in terms of economy but culture and vitality as well. But because this complexity is more or less 'un-analyzable' and indefinable, it can resemble a mess or chaos. However, it can be better described as a productive chaos or a productive complexity.

Denhardt and Denhardt (2007) note three key reasons for why an engaged and active citizenry is beneficial and a precondition for a democratic society. A politically engaged and active citizen is most likely to lead up to favorable political outcomes, which can significantly reflect upon the society. To

support the interests of higher number of citizens, thus democratic efficacy can be achieved through meaningful citizen participation. Meaningful engagement of citizen enhances the legitimacy of government and creates space for citizens in decision-making processes within the most bottom to state-level political institutional structure. This provides stability and strengthens entirely democracy and development.

Community development measures might be a successful tool when dealing with socially deprived areas. The results may contribute to sustainable urban development even on a larger scale, as shown in the Case study Bennets Bazaar, analyzed in section 5.1.

What are the measures, outcomes and factors for strengthening the community life?

Through creation of new activities, events, places to meet, better community service and accessibility to services, people may significantly enhance the quality of life. Through community involvement people are becoming more critic capable and more confident. Sharing of knowledge and skills activates people; makes them more organized and resilient and be able to engage their power to be creative and active in civil society. The whole perception and experience within community might be different if their members recognize problems and are able to agree on common goals. This greatly strengthens the sense of belonging greatly. Mutual trust and solidarity can be built up. When residents feel community ownership and competence in their control, inclusiveness and ability to manage conflicts is stronger. All these social attributes contribute to entrepreneurial and economic productivity and stability.

Successful start of community activation and participation is preconditioned by enabling public input. The actor for involving the public must be committed and able to do so. It is crucial that decision makers are capable of including the public in a given matter. Here is important to identify where exactly is desired the input of public sphere, as well as true recognition of stakeholders and actors. Consequently appropriate level of participation needs to be assigned. Simultaneously, this needs to be cleared out to public and to stakeholders, so everyone is aware and understands each of individual roles. The integration is the following step. An example of these processes is shown in the Case Study 5.2. Prague Courtyards, when explaining the model of the project execution.

Lastly the question of relation between these two is to be answered: *How Does Citizen participation act as an intervener in neighborhood regeneration?*

Neighborhood has a significant role in people's lives, especially for families with children. It provides environment where relationships, networks and services can be developed. However, the

attention from policy makers tends to be neglected or treated trivially. Alongside the housing renewals projects, the developers lack the interest to cultivate community and social capital. Often the provision of housing does not meet the wishes and needs of residents. In fact many schemes of restoration are made as *tabula rasa* and the notion of reintegration is set aside.

The power of local initiatives, groups or organizations is limited. Even though it is not always dominant in regeneration programs, it offers interesting scope to exploit. The participation of community in regeneration processes can have a meaningful function in committing to other resident's agendas and increase community ownership. Politically and well-organized residents can make a difference, especially to marginalized or minority groups.

Enhancement from social viewpoint considers that regeneration processes must improve public space, access to services, crime decline and assurance of safety. These attributes are the bottom line for liveability in neighborhoods. To perceive neighborhood positively and contentedly, liveability is a key feature. Liveability happens through active interaction among residents, fulfillment of their needs, and protection of their environment and resources. This interaction emerged on local level through common movement. Local level is a vital fundament for citizens to draw into action. It is important for successful regeneration to build people's knowledge, motivate them to action and raise their awareness in issues that concern them and their rights. (The section 2.2 Community development discusses this field further.) Social transformation in accordance to these matters is a way to bring forward and enhance democratic principles. Additionally, citizens' participation contributes to transparency in decision-making processes and policies.

The study contributes to further understanding of the present planning methods and issues concerning neighborhood development in contemporary Europe. The findings prove the academic relevance of this field, as well as the need for further research, which would require closer attention to individual themes and especially individual locations.

“First life, then spaces, then buildings – the other way around never works.”

Jan Gehl

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